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# EDITORIAL

Except for the writings of Menno Simons and Dirk Philips, both Dutch Mennonite leaders, almost nothing of the Anabaptist literature has been made available in English translation. This is the more regrettable since numerous significant tracts of the Swiss and Hutterian Brethren, in addition to the extensive writings of Pilgram Marpeck, have been preserved in the original German. These writings deserve translation not only for the sake of the student of Mennonite history but also for the sake of the general Christian reader, and most desirably for the modern Mennonite who still lives by his Anabaptist heritage. Perhaps a popular series of Anabaptist-Mennonite classics can be prepared and published in the coming years. As a first contribution toward this cause the Review is happy to present a translation by John C. Wenger, of an early Anabaptist tract on the Atonement. The message of this tract is wholly in tune with the central Anabaptist concept of life transformation as the heart of Christian experience. Translations of other tracts by Professor Wenger will follow in subsequent issues.

As a companion piece to the debates in the U. S. Congress on the Russian Mennonite Immigration of 1873-74 Professor Correll presents in this issue the transcript of the parallel debates in the Canadian House of Commons. The publication of this material, as in the previous number, casts a vivid new and interesting light on the great migration of Russian Mennonites "for conscience sake" two generations ago. Never has the Canadian government secured and supported so successful a colonizing venture as the great movement into Manitoba by these sturdy Mennonite farmers from the Ukraine.

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

Vol. XX No. 4

# CONCERNING THE SATISFACTION OF CHRIST

## AN ANABAPTIST TRACT ON TRUE CHRISTIANITY

TRANSLATED BY JOHN C. WENGER

### *Introduction*

Several years ago The Mennonite Historical Library of Goshen College acquired a unique German *Sammelband,*[1] undated but probably printed in Switzerland or South Germany somewhere around the year 1600. The contents of the book indicate that its several tracts were produced by Swiss Brethren writers in the very early years of the Anabaptist movement, perhaps for the most part before 1530. Since a description of the nine items of part two of the composite volume has already been published[2] the present article will be devoted entirely to the fourth tract of the collection, a treatist on the atonement of Christ entitled, *Von der Gnugthuung Christi.*

The tract on the atonement was translated into Dutch in the sixteenth century and published in an edition of 1560 and reprinted in 1565,[3] both times as part of a *Sammelband.* The Dutch *Sammelband* contains the same items as the German original except that the trial of Michael Sattler was relegated from the third

1 Robert Friedmann: "The Schleitheim Confession (1527) and Other Doctrinal Writings of the Swiss Brethren in a Hitherto Unknown Edition," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review,* XVI (April 1942), 82-98.

2 *Ibid.,* 83-94.

3 *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica,* Door Dr. S. Cramer en Dr. F. Pijper, Vijfde Deel ('S-Gravenhage, 1909), 585.

place of part two to the end of the book.[4] Professor Samuel Cramer, 1842-1913, held that the tract on the atonement was of Dutch Mennonite origin, but his argument that the Biblical quotations are from the Dutch Liesveldt version[5] is without significance; the fact is equally well accounted for by the explanation that the translator incorporated readings from the Liesveldt Bible in his translation. On the other hand, Professor Cramer admitted that the tract contained Germanisms,[6] quite as one would expect in a work having a German original. The present writer agrees with Dr. Robert Friedmann that the tract comes from Swiss, rather than Dutch, Anabaptist circles.[7] This would best account for the existence of a manuscript copy of the German *Sammelband* tracts, copied by the Hutterian Brethren of Moravia, and preserved as late as 1930 in Schloss Mittersill in the Austrian Alps.[8] Quite interestingly the Hutterian codex agrees with the Goshen *Sammelband* copy even in such details as the omission of the title, *Von bösen Vorstehern* (item 8), and in preserving—in contrast with the Dutch version—the identical order of the nine tracts. Dr. Friedmann is also assuredly correct in his assertion that the book "derives without doubt from the earliest period" of Swiss Brethren history.[9] This is evident from its "radical" critique of both the Catholics and the reformation groups, as well as from its tremendous earnestness and eschatological flavor.

The authorship of the tract is not definitely known. The present writer would offer the conjecture that it may have been Michael Sattler (d. 1527). Item one of part two of the German *Sammelband* is the Schleitheim Confession of Faith[10] written by Michael Sattler. Item two is the Epistle of Sattler to the Church at Horb.[11] Item three is the account of Sattler's trial and martyrdom.[12] Item four is the tract, *Concerning the Satisfaction* (Atonement) *of Christ,* herewith presented in an English translation. The mere fact that the tract follows the three Sattler items is of course not conclusive evidence that Sattler wrote the *Gnugthuung Christi.* But there are several points of similarity between the

4 *Ibid.,* 586.
5 *Ibid.,* 587.
6 *Ibid.,* 586f.
7 *Op. cit.,* 88.
8 *Ibid.,* 94.
9 *Ibid.,* 93.

10 Printed in an English translation, together with an introduction and notes, in *The Mennonite Quarterly Review,* XIX (October, 1945), 243-253.

11 Printed in an English translation in T. J. Van Braght: *The Martyrs' Mirror* (Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1938), 418-420.

12 *Ibid.,* 416-418.

tract on the atonement and the Schleitheim Articles of Faith which offer some support to the conjecture that Sattler wrote the former. Both documents refer to the "burial" and "resurrection" of Christians in their relation to sin and holiness respectively. Both call upon true Christians to withdraw from "Babylon," the apocalyptic symbol of sin and apostasy which the Brethren applied to the state churches in the early years of their history. Both emphasize the absolute obligation of the Christian to take up the cross and follow Christ. It must be admitted however that these were all familiar concepts of the Brethren and they are insufficient to establish any given leader as the author of our tract. Within a century of Sattler's death a Dutch Mennonite martyrologist, P. J. Twisck, ascribed the *Gnugthuung* to Sattler. "Of this hero and witness of Jesus Christ," wrote Twisck,[13] "there are also other writings extant in print, treating of the atonement of Christ [*Gnugthuung Christi*]; brotherly union [Schleitheim Confession]; divorce; of evil overseers; and the hearing of false prophets." The author gives no proof of his assertions, and they may indicate nothing more than that he examined the 1560 Dutch version or perhaps the original German edition of the *Sammelband.*

Little needs to be said about the content of our tract, *Concerning the Satisfaction of Christ.* Strictly speaking it is not a theological treatise on the atonement. Rather, it deals with the topic, To whom do the blessings of the atonement apply? Who can claim that Christ died for him? What is meant when it is stated in Scripture that Christ is the reconciliation (propitiation) of the world? Who is meant by the "world"?

The reply of the Brethren is briefly as follows: It is indeed true that the atonement is universal in its potential scope. It would be sufficient for all men. But it is efficacious only for those who have faith, who are believers. But who are the believers? According to the Brethren, being a believer is far more than renouncing Catholicism, the religion of works. And it is far more than boasting of Christ as one's mercyseat (Protestantism). It is something altogether different from making words. *Being a believer means living the Christian life.* It means bringing forth "fruits meet for repentance" (Matthew 3:8). "It was not 'works' in an ecclesiastical sense which the Swiss Brethren were teaching, but living in the spirit of the Gospel, and by that exposing them-

[13] (Pieter Janz Twisck & Syvaert Pieters:) *Historie van de Vrome Getuygen Iesu Christi* . . . (Hoorn, 1626), 11. This martyr-book was a reprint of a work of 1615. The statement ascribing the *Gnugthuung* to Sattler is repeated in the martyr-books of 1631 and 1660. It is found on p. 420 of the 1938 English edition of the *Martyr's Mirror.*

selves inevitably to suffering and martyrdom."[14] And only those who thus take up the cross and follow the suffering Jesus faithfully are true Christians; only they participate in the benefits and blessings of the atonement of the Lord Jesus. Hence what seems at first to be a theological treatise on the atonement turns out to be a "practical" discussion of true Christianity.

The author develops his treatise as follows: First he shows from Scripture that all men are sinners and that Christ is the Saviour of all men. But he immediately hastens on to point out that salvation does not mean antinomianism; on the contrary holiness of life is the acid test of true Christianity. The author places great stress on the absolute necessity of self-denial. He does not deny the truth of justification by faith;[15] genuine Christian faith, he says, is "reckoned for righteousness, Romans 4." But such faith can never be divorced from life; it must of absolute necessity find expression in good deeds ("works"). But it must not be supposed that the good deeds of the Christian result from human volition. On the contrary, the good "works" of the Christian are not truly his own, but are the result of God working in him. Only those who thus allow God to work obedience in them are true Christians and they alone are justified. The ability to live a life pleasing to God is a divine gift; it is not possible by human effort. Hence true Christianity is not a religion of works (Catholicism), declares our author, nor is it a religion of bare "faith," devoid of "works" (Protestantism). Rather, it is a life of genuine holiness, a life of cross bearing, a life of earnest obedience to the Lord Jesus, a life created in the Christian by God Himself.

In closing, the author expresses his keen regret at the way the reformers went only part-way in their destruction of the beast of the apocalypse (Romanism). Yes, in their defense of such Romish abominations as infant baptism the reform parties are nothing but the second beast which causes the people to worship the first beast (Revelation 13). All state churchism, continues our author, is the awful "abomination of desolation" predicted in holy writ; the state churches—whether Catholic or Protestant—are the "Babylon" of the Apocalypse, and from them the true Christians must withdraw. With this blunt demand for separation from organized Christendom the author closes his tract.

The text of the treatise follows:

[14] Robert Friedmann, *op. cit.*, 88.
[15] This *contra* Cramer, *op. cit.*, 596.

## Concerning the Satisfaction of Christ[16]

Paul says to the Romans in the third chapter, [that][16a] they are all together sinners and come short of the glory which God should have from them, [yet] apart from merit [they] shall be justified by His grace through the redemption which Christ accomplished, Whom God hath set forth as a mercy seat through faith in His blood, by which He sets forth the righteousness which avails before God, in that He forgives the sins which took place formerly under the divine patience, which He manifested, etc.[17] He says; From which also ye are in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, righteousness and santification and redemption. John the Baptist says, [in] John 1, Behold, That is the Lamb of God who takes upon Himself the sin of the world. John says [in] I John 2, And He is the reconciliation for our sins. Peter says [in] I Peter 2, Who offered Himself [for] our sin on the tree, that we might be without sin. As the prophet also speaks, [in] Isaiah 53, We are made well through His stripes. Isaiah 9, A child is born to us, to us a child is given, etc.

Such statements, I say,[18] and others like them, the scribes[19] interpret as if a person could be saved through Christ whether he do the works of faith or not. If such were the case, why then should Paul say [in] Romans 2 that God will render to everyone according to his works, namely eternal life to those who strive after glory, praise and immortality with perseverance in good works, but to those who are quarrelsome and are not obedient to the truth, but are obedient to the evil, there will come disfavor and wrath, tribulation and anxiety, [namely] upon all the souls of men who do evil. He says, [in] Romans 2, Not those who hear the Law are righteous, but those who do the Law. Paul says in Romans 3, He does not make void the law through faith; [rather] he establishes it. In Romans 8 he says, There is therefore now no condemnation to those who are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh but after the Spirit. For what the Law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, that God did and sent His Son in the form of sinful flesh and through sin condemned sin in the flesh, that the righteousness which the Law demands might be fulfilled in us who now walk not after the flesh but after the Spirit. If ye live after the flesh, ye shall die. Galatians 5 [states]: In Christ Jesus neither circumcision nor uncircumcision availeth [anything], but a faith which worketh by love. I Corinthians 13: If I had all faith so that I could remove mountains but have not love, I am nothing. Ephesians 5: For ye know that no whoremonger nor impure person nor covetous man, who is an idolater, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God. Let no man deceive you with vain words. Ephesians 6: For ye know that everyone will receive from the Lord that good which he hath done. II Corinthians 5: For we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ that everyone may receive according to that which he hath done with his body, whether it be good or evil. Peter [says in] I Peter 1: And since

16 *Von der Gnugthuung Christi.*

16a Material inclosed in brackets was supplied by the translator to clarify the original. Parentheses are original.

17 The German sentence ends thus, " . . . die er trug, etc."

18 The words, *I say* are enclosed in parentheses in the original thus, "Solche Sprüche (sage ich) und andere dergleichen . . ." They indicate that the tract was written by a single author.

19 *Schrifftgelerten,* literally "Scripture-scholars" (scribes). The author means Protestant reformers and is using the term contemptuously, perhaps because he feels that they used their learning to evade the true significance of much of Scripture.

ye call upon the Father, who without regarding the person, judgeth according to each man's work so pass the time of your pilgrimage with fear. II Peter 1: And therefore offer, with highest diligence, through your faith, virtue; through virtue, knowledge; through knowledge, moderation; through moderation, patience; through patience, godliness; through godliness, brotherly love; through brotherly love, common love. For if such [virtues] abound in you ye shall neither be lazy nor idle in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. But he who lacketh these things is blind and doth grope. John says [in] I John 1, If we should say that we have fellowship with Him and walk in darkness we would lie and do not the truth. I John 2: Hereby know we that we do know Him if we keep His commandment. He who saith he knoweth Him and keepeth not His commandment is a liar. He who saith he is in the light and hateth his brother is in darkness. I John 3: Children, let no one deceive you. He who doeth righteousness is righteous as He is righteous, but he who doeth sin is of the devil. He who is born of God sinneth no more for his seed remaineth in him and [he] is not able to sin for he is born of God. I[20] will not mention what Christ says [in] Matthew 4: Improve yourselves for the kingdom of heaven is come near. [He] saith to Peter and to others: Follow me. Matthew 5: Let your light shine for men that they may see your good works and praise your Father [who is] in heaven. Ye ought not to think that I am come to do away with the Law and the Prophets. I did not come to do away with [them] but to fulfil. Matthew 7: Therefore he who heareth my discourse and doeth it, him will I compare with a prudent man who built his house upon a rock. And then a pelting rain fell and floods came and the winds blew and beat upon the house but yet it fell not for it was founded upon a rock. And he who heareth my word and doeth it not is like a foolish man who built his house upon the sand. Matthew 10: He who confesseth me before men, him will I confess before my Father in heaven. He who loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me, and he who loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me. And [consider] what He says of the good seed which falls into the good earth, Matthew 16, Mark 8, Luke 9: If anyone wisheth to come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross upon himself and follow me. For he who wisheth to preserve his life shall lose it, but he who loseth his life for my sake will find it. Matthew 16: For it shall come to pass that the Son of Man will come in the glory of His Father, with His angels and then will He requite each one according to his works. [In] Luke 10 Christ speaks to the scribe [that] he should love God with his whole heart and his neighbor as himself; thus would he live. Luke 13: Strive that ye may enter through the narrow door. Luke 14: If anyone come to me and hate not his father, mother, wife, children, brothers, sisters, and also his own life, he cannot be my disciple. And he who does not bear his cross and follow me cannot be my disciple. He who doth not renounce all that he hath cannot be my disciple. John 13: I have given you an example that ye should do as I have done to you. If ye know these things, blessed are ye if ye do them. A new commandment give I unto you that ye love one another as I have loved you. So shall all men know that ye are my disciples if ye have love among yourselves.

Further, as Christ therefore hath suffered for us (He did not have where he might lay His head, Matthew 8) [must] we never through faith in Him renounce [our] supposed possessions and our [own] selves,[21]

[20] See footnote 18 above.

[21] " . . . ob wir nimmer durch den Glauben an jn / auff das vermeint Eigenthumb der Creaturen vnd vnser selbs / verzigen . . . ."

and suffer for His sake? Why then does He say [in] Matthew 19 to the young man who asked him how he might be saved, If thou desirest to be perfect, go, sell what thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven, and come, follow me? Why does He say, It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God? Yea, why does He say [in] Luke 5 to Peter and Andrew (as was said above), Follow me? [And] to Matthew, Follow Me? Did not Zacchaeus say [in] Luke 19, after he [came to] know the poor Jesus and had received Him, Behold, the half of my goods I give to the poor, and if I have defrauded anyone I will restore fourfold? It would then be the case that Christ had lied when He says [in] Matthew 6, We cannot serve God and mammon. And that which Luke writes [in] Acts 2 of the righteous Christian Church which was once at Jerusalem, would not be true, But those who believed were together and had all things common. Yea, the article of the Christian Faith which says, A communion of the saints, would also be untrue. Why then does He say [in] Matthew 8, He who wisheth to come after me, let him deny himself, take his cross upon himself and follow me? [And,] He who wisheth to save his life shall lose it. Why does He say [in] Matthew 5, Blessed are they who are persecuted for righteousness' sake [And,] Blessed are ye when men revile you and persecute you and say all manner of evil against you for my sake, if they lie therein. Matthew 10, John' 15: The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his Lord. It is enough for the disciple that he be as his master, and the servant as his lord. John 16: They will put you under the ban.[22] The time cometh that he who killeth you will think that he doeth God a service therein. Verily, verily, I say to you, Ye shall weep and lament, but the world shall rejoice. Does not Peter also say [in] I Peter 2, For hereunto were ye called: because Christ also suffered for us, and left us an example, that ye should follow His footsteps. Yea indeed, if Christ therefore did enough[23] by his passion which He suffered at Jerusalem, and nothing was uncompleted of his suffering, why then does Paul say in Colossians 1, Now I rejoice in my suffering which I bear for you and fill up in my body that which is lacking in the afflictions of Christ? II Corinthians 1: But as we have tribulation or comfort it works out for your good. Ephesians 3: Therefore I, Paul, a prisoner of Jesus Christ for you Gentiles. Philippians 2: And if I be offered as an offering and service to God [for] your faith, I joy and rejoice with you all. In the same way, did not Christ chiefly establish the Lord's Supper for this reason, namely that they had to suffer as Christ their Head, and through death enter into glory, yea that their death should not be their's but the Lord's and that they like their Head should arise [from the dead]?[24] And what about the dear apostles and prophets, yea even Christ Himself, and likewise the dear friends of God who suffer much at this time and who have testified (*prophetiert*) for so many years, —if the members of Christ must not suffer like their Head? Does Peter not

22 This is the reading of the German (Luther) Bible in John 16:2. Cf. James Moffatt: "They will excommunicate you."

23 An allusion to the title of the tract, *Gnugthuung Christi*: "Ja Zwar / so Christus also hat gnug gethan /mit seinem leiden / so er zu Jerusalem erlitten hat / . . . ."

24 The sentence reads thus in the original: "Gleich als Christus nicht darumb das Nachtmal allermeist auffgericht hett / nemlich / das sie gleich / als jr haubt Christus müsten lieden / vnd durch den todt in die herligkeit eingehen / ja das jr tod nun nicht jr / sondern des Herren todt were / vnd sie auch gleich als das haupt erweckt solten werden."

say [in] I Peter 5, Humble yourselves under the mighty hand of God that He might exalt you at the right time? Cast upon Him all your care, for He careth for you. Be sober, watch ye, for your adversary, the slanderer, goeth about as a roaring lion, seeking whether he can devour someone, whom resist, fortified by faith, since ye know that through your brotherhood which is in the world the same suffering is accomplished.

And for this reason when Paul says [in] Romans 3 that those who are justified through Christ are justified without any merit or without the works of the Law he does not mean that a man can be saved without the works of faith [since Christ and the apostles demand such], but without those works which are done outside of faith and of the love of God,—such as circumcision and the like, which the Jews did that they might thereby be justified. Therefore whenever Paul and Christ apply the term *justifying* to works they do not mean that those works are of men; but [they are] of God and of Christ (through whose strength the man performs them). [Those justifying works] are not performed by the man as if he received something as his own, but [they are performed] because God wishes so to give the man such works that they are His works. And why is there a mercy seat with God except for His own through His will? Why should God make known His will, if He would not wish that a person do it? Yea, how could God be satisfied with anyone who neither wishes to hear the will of God concerning His mercy seat, or who having heard and knowing thereof wishes to hold it only with words? Will he not diminish his boast that the mercy seat exists for his sake? Yea, he gives his own word and says that he heard it from the mercy seat. Yea, he curses and persecutes everyone who refuses to believe him.[25] Will such boasting not lead to his damnation? But if we would think like Paul [in] I Corinthians 1, where he calls Christ the righteousness and wisdom of the believers or Christians, does he mean the outward Christ without the inward, and not much more the inward with the outward [Christ]? Namely, since He is the Word of the Father He makes known to us the true obedience by which alone the Father is satisfied.[26] He is the true Bread from heaven which comes down from above to feed the souls of men. He says, He who doth not renounce all that he possesseth cannot be His disciple. He says, He who wisheth to follow me, let him deny himself. No one cometh to the Father but by me. I am the door of the sheepfold. I am the light of the world. I am the way, the truth, and the life. He testifies all this in deed. I will not mention that Paul at this place is not speaking of Pharisees or scribes[27] (as if they were the righteousness of Christ), but of him and those like him who accept Him in truth and keep their standing as His [disciples] according to that which faith eliminates and [that which it] demands.[28] But what have they to do with it who boast to me[28a] so proudly of Christ? They allege that Paul wrote of them when they are the chief persecutors of Christ and of Paul.

How does it concern me that the emperor claims so many kingdoms, since I am a poor beggar? But when John the Baptist says [in] John 1,

[25] The Author is protesting the absolute lack of religious toleration on the part of the Protestant reformers.

[26] Only true Christians enjoy the favor of God, and one cannot be a true Christian without obeying God,—such is the contention of the author.

[27] See footnote 19 above.

[28] " . . . sondern von jm vnd seines gleichen / so jn in der warheit annemen / vnnd nach ausweisung vnd erforderung des glaubens / sich sein gehalten."

[28a] See footnote 18 above.

Christ is the Lamb which taketh upon Himself the sin of the world, he wishes to be understood: insofar as the world surrenders to Him in faith.[29] And therefore he says also [in] John 3, He who believeth in the Son hath everlasting life; he who doth not believe in the Son shall not see life. In the same way also when John says [in] I John 2, He is our reconciliation, he wishes to be understood: namely, of those who so recognize Him. For although He is truly a reconciliation for the whole world, that does no one any good except those who recognize and accept Him by faith. And those who [accept Him] keep the commandments of Christ. But he who does not [keep the commandments] and yet boasts of Christ as being his reconciliation is a liar, inasmuch as he has never known Christ,—as John testifies. And do we think, when Peter says in I Peter 2, Who offered Himself for our sins in His body on the tree that we might be without sin, [that] he meant that Christ so offered Himself for the sins of men that through Him they are pronounced free, whether or not they believe on Him, whether or not they turn from sin, whether or not they have a change of mind, as the works-saints[30] and scribes think? That is far [from the truth]! Why then would he say [in] I Peter 1, Whom having not seen ye love, in whom ye also believe although ye see Him not. And whereas ye call on the Father who, without regarding the person, judgeth according to every man's work, conduct your life in the time of your pilgrimage in fear. Blessed be God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ who according to His great mercy hath begotten us again to a living hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead. Now those who are without faith, who have not ceased [from sin], those sinning even worse than before,[31] yea [those with] just as slavish and ugly a disposition toward God and their neighbor as they had before,—how can such people appropriate the words of Peter for themselves, since Peter did not write to them but to Christians? In the same way one understands also the two statements of Isaiah, for in Isaiah 28 God said concerning Christ, Behold, I lay a chosen, costly cornerstone in Zion and he who believes therein shall not be put to shame. The ruling Lord however shall be your fear and your dread, and He shall be to you for sanctification, for a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offense, for the two houses of Israel, etc.[32]

How then did Christ do enough for our sins? Answer: [He did enough,] not only for ours, but also for the sins of the whole world, insofar as they believe on Him and follow Him according to the demands of faith, as was said. Yea, He has done enough as the Head of his church;[33] He does no less for His members day by day so that He [continues to] do enough for those who are His; just as He has done from the beginning [so will He continue to do] until His Return.[34] And therefore just as one speaks of justification through Christ so must one also speak of faith, [namely] that repentance is not apart from works, yea not apart from love

29 The author holds that potentially the atonement was universal in scope, but that it is not operative for those who deny the Lord by an unchristian life.

30 *Werckheiligen*: those who trust in the merits of their own works rather than in the sufficiency of Christ's redemption. See footnote 37 below.

31 The author is probably making a comparison between the moral level of the masses when still under Roman Catholicism and that which obtained after the inauguration of the Protestant reformation. It is a known fact that his charge is correct: the Reformation lowered the moral standards of the people for a time in some places.

32 Isaiah 8:14.

33 *Gemein.*

34 " . . . von anfang bis auff sein zukunfft."

(which is an unction), for only such an anointed faith as one receives from the resurrection from the dead is [at all a] Christian faith, and [it alone] is reckoned for righteousness, Romans 4.[35] Again, one must not speak of works after the manner of the works-saints, [namely], works of the Law, but [one] must preach works of faith, that is a turning back from works, possessions, and yourself, through faith in Christ the crucified;—not as though a man could do this of himself but as he is able to do through the strength of faith, so that these ["works"] are not of man but of God, inasmuch as the will and the ability to turn back to God are not of man but the gift of God through Jesus Christ our Lord.[36]

Truly happy then is the man who keeps on the middle path and does not yield to the work-saints[37] (who promise salvation or the forgiveness of sins through works apart from faith—that is through the supposed possession of works—and thus veer to the left, preaching works; paying no attention to a constant faith and not wishing to see or hear of a faith which is sufficient unto salvation: all their works are like wild plums, that is, ceremonies devoid of faith) nor on the other hand to the scribes, who although they have kept clear of [building on] works yet veer to the right and under the name of gospel teach a faith without works, taking the poor and obedient Christ (who had not where to lay His head, Luke 9, and without either the murmuring complaints or the defense of men[38] said, Luke 22, Nevertheless, Father, not my will but Thine be done) for their satisfaction[39] but they do not wish to hear what he says [in] Luke 9, Come, follow me. Luke 14: He who doth not renounce all that he possesseth cannot be my disciple. Mark 8: He who wisheth to come after me, let him deny himself, take his cross upon himself, and follow me.[39a] Yea, the Father must also be a "fanatic"[40] [to] them when He says, This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased, hear Him. They make of Christ, in His humanity, what the pope has made of the saints, namely a golden calf like the Jews of old, that is, they confess Christ as David's Son and [yet] they deny Him, yea make Him a "fanatic" because God's Word and Son were sent into the world to make known the obedience or righteousness of His Father not only in words but also with "works," so that all who believe in Him might not perish in their death but be delivered from death. All their preaching and fruit are like prickly thistles; they have much to say regarding faith, and [yet]know neither what Christ nor faith are; they reject works without faith in order that they may set up faith without works. They wish to obey God only with the soul and not also with the body, in order that they may escape persecution. They think that faith is

[35] The author does not deny the doctrine of *sola fidei* but he does insist that only those have justifying faith who earnestly live the Christian life. Cf. James 2:14-26. "Faith without works is dead."

[36] " . . . sonder werck des glaubēs predigen / das ist ein widerkeren von Wercken / creaturen / vnnd dir selbs /durch den glauben in Christum den gecreutziget / nit als welche der mensch / als von sich selbs / sonder so er wol durch krafft des Glaubens vermöge / die derhalben nit des menschē / sonder Gottes seien / nach dem solches wöllen vnd vermögen der widerker zu Gott / nicht des menschen / sonder Gottes gab ist / durch Jesum Christum unsern Herrn."

[37] In his further discussion the author indicates that by "works-saints" he means Roman Catholics, while by "scribes" he means the Protestant reformers.

[38] "Vnd on [ohne] alles widermurren vnnd vertheidigung der menschen / . . . ."

[39] *Gnugthuung.*

[39a] In his hymn in the *Ausbund* (No. 7) Sattler wrote: "Als Christus mit sein'r wahren Lehr Versammlet hatt' ein kleines Heer, Sagt er dass jeder mit Geduld Ihm täglich's Creutz nachtragen sollt."

[40] *Schwürmer.*

a false (*fauler*) and empty delusion. For this reason they are able to say that infants have faith although they give no evidence of works of faith, even when they come to years. It would then be the case that the work of faith and of the Holy Spirit would be cursing, when they are scarcely able to speak.[40a] And alas for the miserable blindness, although it is not because they do not know better that they do not speak or write all this but because they wish to provide for the belly and preserve their honor.

And how well can one see here the beast that hath seven heads and ten horns, which hath again recovered from its deadly wound, inasmuch as the Romish school or *Curia*[41] from which the bread-god[42] and infant-baptism come originally, are again defended as the truth by the scribes. I will not mention many other things in which the scribes hypocritically imitate the papists and establish them as Christian. But thus must the second beast with the two horns—that is, the gang of the scribes—cause the earth and the people thereon to worship again the first beast,[43] again establishing the papal oil-idol,—that is, popery,—casting down fire from heaven,[44] banishing and cursing everyone who does not cleave to them,—everything just as John had said beforehand. This is also just as he had seen in Revelation 17 where the ten horns on the beast would hate the whore and make her desolate and naked, devour her flesh and burn her with fire, seeing that God had put it in their hearts. The kingdom would be given to the beast until the Word of God should be fulfilled. Yea, those ten horns who like kings should receive the kingdom after the beast, would be of one mind, would give authority to the beast, would make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb would overcome them. This is how there should arise scholars [scribes][45] in the last days from all the higher schools [of learning], awakened through the Spirit; and the Romish church or congregation [46] of works-saints, possessed of great zeal, would bring everything on itself and burn up what it had accumulated of money, silver and food, and damn them [the awakened scholars] as heretics. But soon thereafter they would fall back to the beast,—that is, the Romish school,— and defend it, and the kingdom of God which had previously come to them they would again cast away. Yea these [apostate reformers] would defend the beast and those who cleave [to the beast], against the Word of God, and fight vehemently with the Lamb. Nevertheless, the Lamb who is a Lord of lords and the King of all kings will conquer them, together with [assisted by] His believers and called ones. And would not this, together with the papists, be the abomination of desolation of which Daniel in the ninth chapter, Paul [in] Second Thessalonians 2, Peter [in] Second Peter 2, yea also Christ [in] Matthew 24, Mark 13, [and] Luke 17, clearly have spoken, [namely] where that one sits in the holy

40a Hymn No. 46, stanza 2, in the *Ausbund* complains: "Es schwören jetzt bey Christi Blut die Kinder auf der Gassen."

41 "In common speech the *Curia* is taken to include the Pontifical Chapel and Family . . . . The pope is responsible for all that is done officially by the *Curia* proper, as its members exercise his delegated authority."—*A Catholic Dictionary* (Macmillan, 1942), 140.

42 The mass.

43 Revelation 13:11, 12.

44 An allusion to Revelation 13:13 with perhaps an added rebuke for the persecution of the Anabaptists by the Protestants.

45 "Die gelerten." The author speaks with appreciation of the work of the Protestant reformers as they had at first sought to cleanse the Roman Church of its errors. But he then goes on to lament bitterly their ultimate decision to retain the state church system with all of its unscriptural practices,—such as infant baptism.

46 *Gemein.*

place, allows himself to be worshipped either for gospel or for Christianity, according to which the works-saints say, Lo, here is Christ! The scribes cry, Lo, here is Christ! Therefore, happy is he who departs from Babylon, that is, [who] neither believes the works-saints nor the scribes, [but] submits with fear to the discipline[47] of Christ, because the heavenly voice, [in] Revelation 18, Isaiah 52, II Corinthians 6, cries out and says, Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, that ye receive not of her plagues, for her sins have resounded unto heaven.

[47] *Zucht.*

# THE MENNONITE LOAN IN THE CANADIAN PARLIAMENT, 1875.

ERNST CORRELL

*This 2nd instalment of documents relates perhaps to the latter half of an approximate 7,700 Mennonites from South Russia effecting settlements in the province of Manitoba during the 1870's. As could be assumed in the 1st instalment a prefatory story does not seem to be necessary where migration and settlement phases can be read from records of public debates. The original documents in this series sufficiently dramatize the actual issues. Some of the topics, however, still need to be assessed in terms of current findings on frontier, land, transportation and colonization problems as shown in the studies of Isaiah Bowman, Paul W. Gates, James B. Hedges and others. A few specific references were discussed in my article dealing with sources and documents on "Mennonite Immigration into Manitoba, Canada, 1872, 1873" in the July 1937 issue of this* REVIEW. *There are, of course, a variety of points of view calling for different modes of approach but all of them must depend on the broadest possible basis of source materials. The successful government loan support of 1875 came to light again in the 1920's during the exodus of more than 19,000 Mennonites from Soviet Russia looking for new opportunities in Western Canada. While this movement received traditional international Mennonite church relief and diplomatic and other assistance from the German Republic its major outside support came from Canadian commercial agencies. See Professor James B. Hedges' exhaustive work entitled "Building the Canadian West: Land and Colonization Policies of The Canadian Pacific Railway," New York 1939. Dr. J. Winfield Fretz recognizes in Hedges' study a "splendid opportunity to see Mennonites in the larger setting of a huge colonization program over half a century." (This* REVIEW, *October, 1944, p. 254)*

*The loan of $100,000 was extended by the Dominion in 1875 towards the setlement of financially handicapped Mennonites from Russia on government land grants in Manitoba. The loan was based on credit pledges by members of the "Committee of Management of Mennonites in Ontario," a relief society formed among the descendants of "loyalist" Mennonite settlers of Swiss-Pennsylvania stock. The story of this loan has been featured in popular books and articles. A veritable legend grew around the event and the faithful mode of repayment by its beneficiaries. There are, however, a number of problems connected directly or indirectly with this spectacular loan which await further study and research. What, for instance, were the facts back of Prime Minister Mackenzie's statement on Febr. 15, 1875 when he told the Canadian House of Commons that "last year a large proportion of the money lent to the Mennonites in Manitoba" has been repaid? This unsolved query bears on a disappointing experience in otherwise rather fruitful research studies in the "Public Archives of Canada" in Ottawa in 1936 with reference to an item which reads as follows:*

Resolution—(Canadian) House of Commons—20th April 1874.
Signed: J. A. Patrick, Clerk of the House.
Source: Journal of House of Commons, Session 1874, April 20, p. 86.

"*Resolved* That an humble address be presented to His Excellency the Governor General praying that he will cause to be laid before this House copies of all Orders in Council and of all correspondence between the Imperial and Dominion Governments and their Agents, relating to the Emigration of Menonites from Southern Russia to Canada, and arrangements for their transport to this country, and conveyance through it, as well as for their reception and ultimate settlement in the North West."

*The Ottawa records were fully searched but no evidence was found either of the "humble address" nor of the requested papers. Had they been laid before the House these papers might have referred among other things to the (private or public?) money loans which the Prime Minister had in mind.*

*As regards the mortgage requirements of the loan of 1875 the "John F. Funk Collection" in Goshen College contains some original documents but a fuller picture of these arrangements would be desirable.*

*Likewise the item "$70,000 for transporting Mennonites" in addition to "$100,000 for Mennonite loan" would call for further clarification on a documentary basis.*

*The close co-operation between the old Mennonite colony in Ontario led by the distinguished Jacob Yost Shantz (1822-1909) and the Dominion officials is reflected in the loan negotiations as well as in all other aspects of the Manitoba enterprise before and after 1875. It was under his direction that the proceeds of the government loan were applied to the purchase of equipment and implements for the new settlers. It is in this and other respects that there are untapped sources such as deposits in the Provincial Archives in Toronto dealing with the work of Shantz and Philip Wismer (1810-1897) also of the original Ontario "Russian Mennonite Aid Committee." See list of archival holdings in L. J. Burkholder's "Brief History of the Mennonites in Ontario," Markham, Ontario, 1935, Appendix I.*

*Quite a few chance discoveries made in recent years show an astonishing spread of aid even before the critical period of emigration under pressure. Searches in the Historical Collection of the Friends at Haverford and Swarthmore Colleges led me to unexpected data on early interests of English Friends in the Mennonite cause in Russia and subsequent help rendered. Professor Melvin Gingerich of Bethel College made a noteworthy discovery in the copy of an appeal to the Amish in Iowa in 1874 by the Canadian John Gascho (1838-1919) of the Ontario group asking for loans on behalf of immigrants from Russia. Dr. Gingerich also found documents pertaining to relevant refugee aid in the S. D. Guengerich Legacy. His research efforts further led to the description of a mutual loan fund society formed in 1874 in the Molotschna colony in Russia as the "Corporation of Emigrants to America." See Dr. Gingerich's informative article "The Alexanderwohl Schnurbuch" in the January 1946 issue of Mennonite Life.*

*Many other inquiries are needed to penetrate further into widely distributed materials. Only then can one arrive at consolidated views on the financial implications of the great migration. The organisation and function of relief called into spontaneous action in Europe and America by the troubled communities in Russia requires studies on the basis of documents so far as possible. It is after the collation of sources that an analysis can be attempted in answer to such problems as: the relationship of private and public assistance of various kinds; the significance of groups immigrating mainly on their own financial strength; the application of foreign relief;*

*the comparative benefits enjoyed by different groups during the various stages in the process of transplanting.*

*Note: The reproduction of the Debates which follows is taken verbatim from the original. Passages with no bearing whatsoever on Mennonite matters were omitted. Such omissions are indicated by dots. It should also be noted that in contrast to the French portions most of the English statements appear to be abstracts.*

## *A. Debates in the Canadian House of Commons (Session 1875).*

**Source:**

Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada, Vol. I, Session 1875.

Debate of February 15, 1875 (*ibid.* p. 141).

### IMMIGRATION OF MENNONITES

Mr. Young inquired what steps have been taken, if any, to induce a further immigration of Mennonites from Russia to the Province of Manitoba or any other part of the Dominion?

Hon. Mr. Mackenzie said the steps taken last year, he was happy to say, had resulted in great success. His hon. friend from Compton was the first to initiate the movement in this direction, and last year a large proportion of the money lent to the Mennonites in Manitoba had been repaid. A deputation of the leading Mennonites in the Province of Ontario visited Ottawa a few weeks ago and represented that 900 families in Russia were willing to come to Canada this year, but they were of the poorer class, and were not possessed of the considerable sums of money which these people usually brought to the country. The deputation, therefore, solicited from the Government an advance of $100,000 to enable them to emigrate, the deputation becoming personally responsible for the repayment of this amount in ten annual instalments. The Government considered the project favourably and proposed to ask a loan of $100,000 and $70,000 for transportation. He had no doubt the investment would be a good one, and that every cent of the money would be repaid to the Government, while there would be added to the population of the country a large number of the best emigrants.

Debate of February 19, 1875 (*ibid.* pp. 249-252).

Vote 46 under the head of Immigration and Quarantine passed.

On item 47 under this head, being $100,000 for Mennonite loan, $70,000 for transporting Mennonites and $190,000 toward assisting immigration and meeting immigration expenses.

Sir John Macdonald asked for explanations in regard to the Mennonite loan.

Hon. Mr. Cartwright said that the use of the money would be allowed during two or three years without interest, and after that it would be repaid by installments running over ten years. The Mennonites resident in Waterloo county were for the most part a wealthy class, and bore the highest reputation for strict honesty and integrity in meeting their pecuniary engagements. The Government had, therefore, determined to take a bond from a number of Mennonites living in Waterloo county and North York, for the repayment of the loan of $100,000, and he believed the sum would be repaid to the last farthing. Mennonites of far less means in the North-West had repaid most creditably money advanced to them. Pay-

ment of debt was a doctrine in the Mennonite faith, and a very excellent doctrine it appeared to be.

Mr. Masson said he had seen the Mennonites in the North-West and knew them to be an orderly and quiet people, who brought a certain amount of wealth to the country. But he desired to ask the Government if they had considered whether it would not have been for the benefit of this county to have extended the advantages which were given to the Mennonites, to bodies of French Canadians or Canadians who had emigrated to the United States, and who were endeavouring to find means to enable them to return to their native land, and some of them were desirous of settling in Manitoba. When in Manitoba he had seen French Canadians come there and look round to see whether they could not have a township or two townships in which to settle. Efforts were made among French Canadians who had settled in the United States to transplant themselves in colonies to Manitoba; societies had been formed among themselves for that purpose, some of which had gone so far as to offer bonuses to persons who would be foremost in going into that country and founding a colony. He asked the Government whether it would not be just as advantageous to have French Canadians now settled in the United States as immigrants to Manitoba as Mennonites, and whether it would not be advisable to extend to those people who might desire to emigrate in bodies and establish colonies the same advantages offered to the Mennonites.

Hon. Mr. Mackenzie said he could quite understand the desire expressed by the hon. member for Terrebonne, and it was a creditable one, to get back all our people who have gone from Canada to the United States, but he would see that very serious difficulties stood in the way of his proposals being carried out. The Government had considered carefully, and were still considering whether anything could be done in that direction. It was evident, however, that if we aided French Canadians settled in the New England states—for it was there that the French Canadians chiefly were—to go into Manitoba, and did not similarly aid those in the Province of Quebec or other Provinces, it would be easy for them to step over the line, and obtain the aid which they received because they were resident in the States. The chief object that had hitherto been kept in view by the Government in respect to immigration was to make the different countries of Europe the great field from which to draw our immigrants. If the Government once adopted the system indicated by the hon. member for Terrebonne it would lead to serious difficulty, because there could be no good reason why we should aid people on one side of what was practically an imaginary line separating our territory from a foreign country, and not aid those who were on the other side. The Government were, however, still considering this matter, and had taken some steps to ascertain as nearly as may be through semi-official agents at Boston and other places the number of Canadians that might reasonably be expected to take advantage of any offer in that direction.

* * * *

Mr. Trow said that, having visited Manitoba, he could bear testimony to the industrious habits of the Mennonites. He was satisfied that Mr. Ralston's colony was a failure, because instead of there being two hundred and fifty or three hundred persons as was represented, there were only seven families when he saw that gentleman. The other colony referred to by the hon. Premier was also a failure. The Mennonite colony was, however, a stern reality. It comprised thirteen hundred people, who had arrived there last summer, and who possessed considerable means. It

was the nucleus of a very large settlement, and they were a class of people who were satisfied with the country. Many immigrants complained of the scarcity of wood and water, but though five of the eight Mennonite townships were without timber, yet they were satisfied and industrious and determined to encourage their friends in Southern Russia to meet them there next season.

MR. MASSON desired to suggest to the hon. PREMIER a method of surmounting the difficulty raised as to granting aid to French Canadians at present settled in the United States who desired to emigrate to Manitoba. The French Canadian population in the United States was largely in groups, and no difficulty would be experienced by the Department in making arrangements, so that no person who had not resided in the United States a certain number of years would come within the arrangement.

HON. MR. POPE said that with respect to the question of aiding Canadians or British subjects who had settled in the United States he had endeavored to ascertain how many were desirous of returning to Canada. When in charge of the Immigration Department he had offered all fair and proper inducement to those people to return to Canada, but up to this time not many had returned. He fully concurred in the proposed loan of $100,000 to the Mennonites, because he was perfectly satisfied that the money would be returned, and the immigrants were of as good a class as could be obtained.—The item passed.

## AFTER RECESS

The House went again into Committee of Supply.

*(Editorial Note: The records of the Debates spell Mennonite with one "n". Corrections were not made throughout. E. C.)*

On the consideration of item $100,000, Menonite Loan,

HON. MR. CARTWRIGHT assured the House that the country would see that the money was not for any other purpose than that for which it was voted. His hon. friend from North Waterloo and North York would be able to inform the House as to the standing of the persons who had become responsible for the amount. He understood that the Menonites objected to giving a mortgage upon their farms.

MR. BOWMAN said these people had no objection to giving mortgages to the persons who proposed to make themselves liable for the repayment of this loan. They were worth from $5,000 to $75,000 each, and he learned from the leading gentleman amongst them that it was their intention that no one should make himself liable for over one-tenth of the value of his property, so that if it became necessary for them to pay it out of their pockets they could do so. Gentlemen on the other side of the House appear to examine this matter in a very critical spirit, but the men who made themselves responsible for the payment of this loan, he was glad to be able to assure them, were thoroughly reliable. It was a part of their creed that every man ought to pay his dues and the obligations he undertook. He was perfectly satisfied that these men would carry out their obligations to the letter and the Government would be quite safe in leaving the superintendence of the Loan to themselves.

MR. CHARLTON said if the Government succeeded in securing four or five thousand of these emigrants on a well recognized principle of political economy as applying to this new country that would increase the capital of the country by four or five million dollars, and would thus have in the emigrants themselves a repayment of the loan. He would be glad to see the Government go a little further, and expend small sums upon opening up

railways in the back countries, as well as assisting emigrants of other classes in the same way as they proposed to assist the Mennonites. He looked upon the policy as a wise one.

Mr. Dymond said he thought the simple fact that the gentlemen who became responsible for the repayment of this loan were Menonites should be sufficient to satisfy every one. Their simple promise was as binding upon them as would be their mortgage or an oath. In addition to the guarantee given by their co-religionists in Waterloo and York, these people were bound together in Manitoba by peculiar religious ties, and we had not simply the pledge of individuals, but what amounted to the pledge of the whole community, that they would be responsible for the loan; indeed there was no doubt they would be successful in their enterprise. With regard to extending this system of loans as had been contended by his hon. friend from North Norfolk, he was afraid that were it to apply generally there would be no end to this system of investment, although the Menonites might repay their debts better than the majority of persons. After all, the Menonite was of no more value as an emigrant than any other man, and he would respectfully protest against the idea of an unlimited system of loans. So long as his hon. friend, the First Minister, was at the head of affairs he was not afraid of the results, but a time might come when the affairs of the nation would unfortunately pass into other hands, and the fact that the Government had small creditors all over the Dominion would not be very satisfactory. It would afford the means of undermining the virtue of the people and might probably offer very serious temptations to the virtue of the Government.—The item was then passed.

Debate of February 26, 1875 (*ibid.*, pp. 377-391).

THE MENNONITE LOAN

On the next item, Mennonite Loan, $100,000,

Mr. Masson said, when this question was before the committee, he had stated that he was not at all disposed to object to the loan because he knew himself that the Menonites were a good class of emigrants, whose presence in our country would add to its wealth and prosperity. However, he was not such an enthusiast on this matter as some hon. gentlemen, and he did not think they were any superior to many other classes of emigrants, and should not receive any greater advantages than any other class that was prepared to fulfil the same conditions. He had stated then that he thought it would be more advantageous to this country to strive to recall from the neighboring country those numerous children of Canada who had left our soil, but who were now disposed to return. The Premier on that occasion, stated that there were some difficulties in the way of doing this, but that the matter would receive consideration. Before making any further remarks, he would ask the Premier whether it was his intention to take means to encourage the return of Canadians from the United States similar to these it was proposed to take to promote the immigration of the Menonites.

Hon. Mr. Mackenzie—I can hardly add anything to what I said the other evening. I quite sympathize with the hon. gentleman's desire to secure the return, if possible, of those Canadians who had gone to the United States, but as I stated then there are peculiar difficulties to contend with in doing that. The Government will endeavor to devise some plan if they can by which that may be accomplished to some extent. I am not prepared at present to say how it can be accomplished.

Mr. Masson observed that the money now being voted was for the year ending 30th June, 1876, and he had hoped that the Premier would have

been able to have made such a statement of his intentions as would have obviated the necessity of asking the House to say whether so large a grant should be given to the Menonites without some guarantee being given that before July, 1876, something would be done to promote the return to Canada of our own fellow countrymen. But, of course, if the hon. gentleman said he could not do so, he (Mr. Masson) would be obliged to divide the House.

Hon. Mr. Holton said the object of his hon. friend from Terrebonne was one with which they must all sympathize. But the distinction between the case of the Menonites and the case referred to by the hon. gentleman was this: that whereas the Mennonites came before the Government with a distinct proposition, he was not aware that there was any distinct practical proposition before the Government upon which they could invite the House to take any action with respect to the re-immigration of our own people into this country. If the hon. member for Terrebonne was in a position to present to the Government a tangible, practical proposition for the promotion of the return of any considerable number of our fellow countrymen, he (Mr. Holton) for one would be prepared to second his efforts in urging such a proposition upon the favorable consideration of the Government. We had a practical plan as respects the Menonites, but he was not aware that we had any such plan as respects our own countrymen in the United States.

Mr. Masson said he had already stated that he had such information as would justify him in saying that applications had been made to the Government on behalf of Canadians in the United States wishing to return and that no proper answer had been given. He had asked the Minister of Public Works if townships had not been reserved in Manitoba for certain colonies of immigrants, and he had replied that he thought such was the case but that the scheme had been a complete failure. To a certain extent that statement was true.

Hon. Mr. Mackenzie—I said it was a comparative failure.

Mr. Masson—The first colony was called the Emerson Colony, and it had not been able to comply entirely with the Order in Council which had been passed to enable them to have a township reserved for them. There was another effort made to establish a colony called the Rolestan Colony, but that he knew was a complete failure. But still the Government were not discouraged by these failures for at the present moment negotiations are going on with a Mr. Shaw to bring out a number of European immigrants, and to have a certain number of townships set apart for them. Last fall when he (Mr. Masson) was in Manitoba a gentleman named Mr. Monty came over from the United States to examine the territory and see whether it would not be possible to throw into Manitoba a current of French immigration from the United States. He returned to his home at Fall River and made a report to the Canadian Colonization Company of that city, speaking in glowing terms of Manitoba and of its advantages to immigrants. In consequence of that the Colonization Society of Manitoba wrote to the Government here, applying for the same advantages which the Government had granted to other colonies, namely; the reservation of a certain number of townships. Application was also made for a bonus to assist Canadians who desired to come to Manitoba from the United States to do so. That application was made in October last, and he believed that up to the present time no answer had been received which could be considered as either an acceptance or a refusal of their proposal. The Minister of Public Works knew that there was an intense desire among the people of the Province of Quebec to assist their compatriots in the United States to

return, and among the French Canadians in the United States there was a strong desire to come back to this country. The Legislature of Quebec, supported by public opinion, had lately passed resolutions offering great inducements for that class of people to return. Of course the Government of the Dominion could not particularly and specially encourage immigration to Quebec, but they had full charge over immigration to Manitoba and the North-West. It was our duty to do our utmost in favor of the repatriation of Canadians, more especially as the very fact of a large number of Canadians abandoning their own country and living in the United States was calculated to induce emigrants from Europe to go to the United States in preference to Canada. He did not wish in the least degree to embarrass the Government, but in the interests of this country as well as of his compatriots in the United States, he felt bound to urge this matter upon the Government. He concluded by moving that the following words be added to the resolution:

"And that out of the sum to be set apart for the benefit of the Menonites a proportionate sum be assigned towards inducing Canadians residing in the United States to settle in Manitoba or the North-West Territory."

Hon. Mr. Mackenzie—That is not an appropriation recommended by the Governor General, and therefore is out of order.

The amendment was ruled out of order.

Mr. Masson said he had offered that amendment to show that he was quite willing that this grant of $100,000 should be voted, provided the same advantages were given to Canadians in the United States, as it was proposed to give to the Menonites. As it had been ruled out of order, he would move the following amendment:

"That the resolution be not concurred in, but that it be resolved that the sum of $100,000 for a Menonite loan be reduced to $50,000."

Mr. D. A. Smith (Selkirk) said he cordially sympathized with the proposal to encourage the immigration of the Menonites to Manitoba, and he would be very sorry to see the amount reduced. He proceeded to speak in high terms of the Menonites as a very valuable class of immigrants. Had the Government thought proper to ask for $150,000 instead of $100,000 he would have voted for it, for it would be money well spent even though not a dollar of it was directly repaid. The same amount of money could not be spent more profitably in any other way. While he said this he would also say that he would be very glad to see every possible encouragement given to the return of Canadians to our country, and he trusted the Government would see their way to assist them. He hoped the hon. member for Terrebonne would withdraw his amendment, for he must know that not only the Government but every member of the House were anxious to extend a helping hand to our countrymen in the United States who desired to return to this country.

Mr. Blake trusted that his hon. friend from Terrebonne would not press this motion. The hon. gentleman he contended had not submitted any argument in support of his proposition, and did not even conjecture by what arguments it ought to be supported. He (Mr. Blake) had not heard one complaint against the grant, and the principle once admitted it could not be said that the amount was inordinate. If there were any good reasons for the reduction proposed by his hon. friend, the same reasons would apply to the item being struck from the estimates. He assured the hon. gentleman that he would by no means advance the cause he had at heart by this proposition. Having in view the fact that a scheme of some description had been laid before the Government, and admitting that there would be most serious difficulties in the way of its organization, he consid-

ered that it might be expedient to provide a sum which would be available, if any practicable scheme was submitted. He thought the Government might propose a moderate amount in the supplementary estimates to be dealt with in the way suggested, as they might think fit, but while making this suggestion to his hon. friend the First Minister, he would also advise the hon. gentleman that if he insisted upon his amendment the House would of course reject it.

MR. YOUNG said the Menonites of Waterloo had taken a deep interest in the immigration to this country from South Russia and had suggested this loan. He thought, therefore, that the hon. member for Terrebonne should withdraw this motion, for he considered in allowing it to stand he was taking a most ungracious position. The hon. member, too, had advocated that it should be given to French Canadians in the United States, to induce them to return, but because he could not get what he wanted, at once, he appeared to be unwilling to permit any advantages being given to others. He (MR. YOUNG) would be glad of any practicable scheme for bringing back, not only the French Canadians, but Canadians from all parts of Canada who had emigrated to the United States, and having them settled in their own country again. He believed there were about half a million on the other side of the line, and their return was a very desirable thing, but he did not regard their position as being the same as that of persons in foreign countries, who desired to come here. The Menonites, for example, had to come a very great distance, and the chances were that when they did come they would remain. Their circumstances were such that a little assistance was of very great importance to them, and the grant which the Government proposed in the estimate was, he considered, as well spent as money possibly could be. If there were Canadians in the United States, they were there by choice, and the distance between here and there and the cost of returning was so small, that he could scarcely think that any large amount of money should be necessary to induce them to return. If they had any desire to come the expense need not stand in their way. So far as land was concerned, he considered they should be placed in just as favorable a position as any class of immigrants that come to the country. He trusted the hon. member for Terrebonne would see that his position in opposing this loan was quite inconsistent with the proposition he made that aid should be given to the French Canadians in the United States in order to induce them to return. He was acting, he was sorry to see, somewhat after the fashion of what was called in English, "the dog in the manger," and he (MR. YOUNG) regretted that the hon. member, who was credited—and, he believed, justly credited—with the possession of so much chivalry, should leave his motives in this matter open to question. The Mennonites in Waterloo would be very much disappointed if this vote were not carried. As his hon. friend from Selkirk had said, the money would be well spent if never a dollar of it were returned. There was no question, however, that every cent of it would be returned. The Menonites in Waterloo and elsewhere who had become personally responsible for the re-payment of this loan, were some of them the wealthiest people in the county, and the Government and the country might depend upon it that they would see the terms of the loan were regularly carried out. He hoped, under the circumstances, that the hon. member would not persist in his motion.

HON. MR. LAIRD denied the assertion that the Government were only prepared to encourage colonization from Europe, and, in proof of his statement, called attention to the fact that two of the colonies established in Manitoba during the last year were from the United States. Emerson colony (started by FAIRBANKS and KEARNEY) was one of the very character

advocated by the hon. member, and, although every inducement had been held out to men of all nationalities, in the way of reserving land, the number who took advantage of it was comparatively small, and he believed there were no French Canadians amongst those who did. He reminded the hon. gentleman that this system of settling in Canada was as open to them as it was to anybody else, and that the reservations set apart were the best in the Province of Manitoba. The Emerson Colony was right at the entrance of the Province, and the Pembina Railway passed through it. However, he was sorry to see that even under these most favorable circumstances FAIRBANKS and KEARNEY had been unable to make up their complement of immigrants within the time specified in the terms under which the reservation was made. There were two schemes for bringing in settlers on this system, neither of which had been at all successful, and, indeed, the people of the North-West looked upon the system of reservation as one of the greatest objections to the administration of their land by the Dominion Government. It meant frequently simply the locking up of a large amount of land in the hands of a few men. The Government were now becoming more careful in regard to that subject, and refused to make reservations in favor of anybody, unless they were assured not only of their *bona fide* intention, but of their ability to make a settlement within a reasonable period. It would be the policy of the Government in regard to this land to do the most ample justice to all parties concerned.

It being 6 o'clock, the House rose for recess.

## THE MENNONITE LOAN

HON. MR. LAIRD in resuming the debate, referred to another reservation of nearly two townships made by the late Government at the instance of the German Immigration Society of Montreal. Last year not a single immigrant under the auspices of that Society entered upon the reservation. Last Spring correspondence was opened with the Society again, and the Secretary replied that they expected a number of immigrants from Europe, and that in fact he believed they were on the way. However, not a single immigrant entered upon the reservation last summer. Of all the attempts which had been made at colonization the Menonite colony was the only one that had been successful. A large number of them had arrived and settled on their lands last summer. He went up to Manitoba with a number of them, and immediately on their arrival they were off to their lands, and the next week some of them were back to Winnipeg selling butter. In view of the failure of previous schemes the Government felt they must be very careful about making any further reservations of land, for these reservations if not speedily taken up, remained a barrier to the settlement and development of the country. With reference to the case referred to by the hon. member for Terrebonne, he was not aware that any practical scheme had been proposed. Certainly the Government did not desire to exclude any class, and were prepared to consider any practicable scheme for the settlement of Manitoba and the North-West with Canadians from the United States as well as European and other emigrants.

MR. TROW said he could testify to the truth of the statements of the Minister of the Interior with reference to the total failure of those companies organized to colonize a portion of Manitoba. He considered the EMERSON scheme was a perfect fraud on the community. He himself had been offered land in that reservation at the rate of $75 for one-eighth of an acre, merely taking MR. EMERSON'S writing that when he obtained the title to the property he would transfer it. Numerous lots were sold on these conditions. That reservation contained four townships of the best lands

in the Province. He noticed that MR. ROLESTAN took credit for settling upwards of two hundred immigrants. He met that gentleman on the prairie with about seven or eight families, and he told him (MR. T.) that it was impossible for him to bring out more, as he had no preparation made to keep them over winter. There was no analogy between the emigrants that the hon. member for Terrebonne referred to and the Menonites. The former class had left this country of their own accord, and it did not involve a great expense for them to come back, and he was happy to say that some 14,000 had returned during the past year. On the other hand the Menonites were coming a great distance, and if once settled they would be likely to remain, and they were first-class settlers. He adverted to the position of the Menonites in Europe, and to the fact that wherever they went they were the best settlers a country could have. Some thirteen hundred of them had immigrated to Manitoba during the past year. He had the pleasure of meeting a good many of them, and they were perfectly satisfied with the country and with their condition. He doubted whether Canadians from the United States, if settled on the same lands, would be equally content. He hoped the Government would take steps to prevent land monopolies in Manitoba, which was the greatest curse that could afflict that country. There were two sections in each township reserved for the Hudson Bay Company. He was persuaded it would have been much better had that company's claim been purchased outright instead of reserving to them large portions of the land, which retarded settlement. At present some settlers in coming to Winnipeg had to travel through these unoccupied sections held by the Hudson Bay Company. With reference to the proposed loan to the Menonites he was as certain as he was of anything that it would all be repaid, principal and interest, for their word was as good as their bond, and moreover the Government were offered the very best security—the security of men in the County of Waterloo worth each from $50,000 to $60,000. He was not opposed to a grant being given to promote the return to this country of Canadians in the United States, for he believed that the Government could not spend money to better advantage than in encouraging immigration.

MR. ROCHESTER was very much pleased to see this sum in the estimates to aid the Menonites to come to this country, for he believed they were an excellent class of immigrants. They were agriculturists and that was the class Manitoba required, and the French Canadians who went to the United States were not generally speaking agriculturists, but most of them were engaged in manufacturing pursuits. However, he did not mean to say that they were not a desirable class of people to have in this country, and he would be glad if the Government could devise some practical plan to induce them to return. There were, however, serious difficulties in the way of granting them public money, because there would be no guarantee that they would remain in this country. He thought some further explanation should be given with respect to the lands that were said by the Minister of Interior to be locked up, because it was very desirable to have all the lands in Manitoba open to the choice of settlers.

MR. PLUMB, while not objecting to the loan to the Menonites, expressed his surprise that the land monopolies referred to by gentlemen opposite should be allowed to exist.

MR. ROSS (Middlesex) said he was somewhat surprised to notice the amendment submitted by the member for Terrebonne. He had thought, judging from the tone of the press, which supported the political views represented on the Opposition side of the House, that the party was still a party of Union and Progress; but here was a resolution of the Govern-

ment asking for an appropriation of $100,000 for immigration purposes, and yet from the members on the opposite side of the House, who were supposed to belong to the party of Progress, a retrogressive amendment was moved, asking the House to vote only $50,000 for purposes of that kind. As he understood the resources and needs of this country, he was thoroughly convinced there was no policy the Government could adopt which would prove more advantageous to this country, and more calculated to develop its resources, and more on which the progress and prosperity of the Dominion more depends than on a liberal, progressive immigration policy. If we look at the history of the United States, a country that has given us a good example in respect to this matter, we found they had settled their land, developed their resources and become a powerful nation, very much because they were liberal in respect to immigration matters. We were told by statisticians that, if the United States had suspended their immigration policy as far back as 1830, their present population, instead of being 40,000,000 would be something like 14,000,000. If we, possessing such large undeveloped resources, with such fertile tracts of land in the North-West, stated by the member for South Perth at 2,700,000 square miles, with Manitoba, yet unsettled, embracing 9,000,000 acres,—wished to occupy these wild lands, we must not adopt the policy of the member for Terrebonne, but we must rather urge even this present Government, that is disposed to be liberal in matters of that kind, to increase their grants for immigration purposes, and, if possible, secure a larger proportion of immigration to this country than has been obtained in years gone by. He wished to call attention to this feature of the question, viz., that the difficulties in obtaining immigrants are greater now than they were some years ago. The social condition of the people in the old countries from which the immigrants come, has improved; the agricultural classes are more comfortable, the cities are not so overcrowded, and wages are high; hence the necessity of a more liberal policy than that adopted some years ago, if we wish to secure a fair share of immigration to Canada. This was abundantly shown by the difficulties experienced in attracting immigrants to this country at the present time. The South American Republics, New Zealand, and the Australian colonies were offering bonuses to immigrants in order to induce them to take ship for those countries, and the Governments of Ontario and Quebec offered similar bonuses; and so the Government of the Dominion could not be less progressive and enterprising than the Governments of those Provinces. This view was further sustained when we considered the results of the immigration to the United States, with all the advantages they offered. The number of immigrants that arrived at New York last year was only 147,620, while in the year previous, 1873, the number reached 268,288, so that there had been a falling off in one year of 120,000, simply for the reason he had given. Now, the Government proposed a tangible and very satisfactory system of immigration. They proposed appropriating a specific sum for a specific purpose, which was sure to accomplish the end for which it was designed. Under the ordinary system the expenditure for immigration purposes might or might not succeed. We send agents out, who, by disseminating information, might succeed in sending immigrants into Canada, but by this system the House would be sure, from information they had obtained, to accomplish the object for which it was appropriated. From the views expressed by the hon. members for South Waterloo and South Perth, there was no doubt that the loan would be fully repaid. But suppose it was not repaid, it would be well to reduce the matter to an arithmetical calculation. In loaning $100,000 for this purpose the annual interest which would be a loss to

the country if the loan were not repaid would amount to $5,000. Let the House now observe what the country would realize from that immigration. Suppose 900 families came to this country, comprising 4,000 individuals. Each individual pays to the revenue of the country an average of $6, so that, by settling 4,000 individuals in Manitoba, we would realize $24,000 of annual revenue, which would be placed against a loss for interest on the loan of $5,000. That reduced the matter to figures, and it appeared clear that the proposed loan would be a good investment to the country. He wished to make this general remark in regard to immigration—he trusted so long as this Government asked him to support them in any measures they might bring before the House, he hoped they always would be prepared to adopt liberal measures in the matter of immigration, and by a prudent expenditure of our public money to see that we obtained as settlers upon our Canadian soil the best of the surplus population of the Old World. There was an abundance of land in Manitoba open for settlement, and before many years he trusted that country would be as well settled as any part of Ontario. The Government were entitled to the support of the House in submitting the resolutions which had been placed on the Table.

Mr. Dymond said the hon. member for South Perth was perfectly correct when he alluded to the large German emigration to Pennsylvania, under the auspices of William Penn, as being to a considerable extent analogous to that which we are now welcoming to Manitoba. Long before Penn settled in Pennsylvania he visited Germany on two or three occasions, and there inspired with his own desire to found a free colony in the New World a large number of the members of pious German sects who followed him to America, and it was those very men who laid in Pennsylvania the foundation of that great movement against human slavery which resulted in the overthrow of that institution in our own day. He had no doubt that the same love of liberty and peace characterized the Mennonites in Manitoba that was so distinguishing a feature of those who took shelter under the broad brim of William Penn. He did not, however, rise to say much with reference to the Menonites, but to offer a few general observations on the position of the emigration question at this time, . . . . During the first two or three years after Confederation there were great opportunities of adding to our population from the people of the Old Country. They all remembered the period of distress that prevailed in 1866. Numerous benevolent societies sprung into existence at that epoch, and men were assisted by thousands to our colonies; but that was to a very large extent an indiscriminate emigration, composed of those who, if not actually of the pauper class, were but a few degrees removed from it—they were the poor struggling classes of the cities. . . . With respect to colonization schemes and the various proposals to bring out colonies to Manitoba, he deemed it to be of the utmost importance that our representative should possess judgment and ability, and occupy a sufficiently high position in the country to influence in the right direction proposals of that kind. There was nothing about which men were more Quixotic, nothing in which men were more likely to fail, than in conducting emigration schemes. The reason why the Menonite colonies had been successful was to be found in the fact that the people were bound together by religious and social ties, and stood shoulder to shoulder in every difficulty. If the Government loaned $100,000 to the Menonites of Manitoba, the whole community was pledged morally to repay it. If the hon. member for Terrebonne could bring forward a colony composed of people who possessed the same qualities; who would afford the same evidence as that given by

the Menonites, that the immigration would be successful, then every hon. member would be anxious to assist him. But he (MR. DYMOND) did not believe that, except here and there under peculiarly able management and peculiarly favorable conditions, colonization schemes would succeed. Immigration must be made, to a large extent, a matter of voluntary effort. We must throw open the country to individual immigration. We must teach people what the conditions of success are, we had got to provide them with the necessary machinery for reaching their destination . . . .

HON. MR. HOLTON moved in amendment to the amendment: "That all the words after 'that' in the amendment be left out, and the following be inserted, 'The following words be added to the motion: But this House will cheerfully assent to any measure which may be proposed by the Government to encourage the settlement of native Canadians now living in the United States on the waste lands of the Dominion.' " He said there could be no objection on the part of the House to express its readiness to entertain favorably any proposition submitted by the Government, looking to the encouragement of the settlement of the Dominion's waste lands by native Canadians now residents of the United States. He thought the proposition of the hon. member for Terrebonne to reduce the appropriation under discussion was an exceedingly illogical one. He could have understood the force of the argument that might be urged in favor of rejecting the vote. It was a novelty no doubt in our Legislature to advance money for such a purpose. The object, however, was admitted on all hands to be a praiseworthy and advantageous one, and therefore to reduce the appropriation sought by the Government, was illogical in the last degree. He had hoped that the member for Terrebonne, yielding to what appeared to be the sense of the House, would have withdrawn the motion on receiving an expression of the opinion of the Government of their readiness to consider the claims of the parties to whom the hon. member for Terrebonne referred; but as the hon. member did not see fit to do so, he, (MR. HOLTON) submitted to the House that proposition, which he held to be infinitely superior to the amendment, because it left the appropriation now under consideration untouched.

MR. PALMER thought the amount proposed to be loaned to the Menonites should be appropriated. The Government expended an excessive sum for Military purposes, and the Military camps had demoralized many of our young men.

MR. MASSON said the Minister of the Interior, in discussing this question, had stated that the township system in the North West was a failure. Nevertheless the Government did not abandon it, and they were at present negotiating with a party to continue it.

HON. MR. LAIRD said the negotiations with Mr. Shantz were made last spring before they knew the result of the township system.

MR. MASSON said he believed the Menonites should be encouraged to come to this country.

M. TREMBLAY: . . . Quant aux Menonite, je ne puis qu' approuver le Governement de leur donner l'encouragement nécessaire, parce que, venant á l'invitation et sur la recommendation des Menonites qui habitent le pays, c'est une garantie que leur établissement dans Manitoba sera permanent. Je n'ai aucun doute du reste que les $100,000 seront remboursés, si je dois en croire les renseignements que j'ai eus sur les garanties offertes au Gouvernement et acceptées par lui. . . .

MR. CAMPBELL (Victoria) asked if there was any understanding with these Menonites by which they were to be treated differently from other settlers. He thought it would be a misfortune for us to expend the public

money in bringing them to Canada if they were to be governed by separate laws. We had a long line of frontier which could only be protected by our people, and none of them should be exempted from military service in time of trouble and invasion. There was no doubt, though, that our great North-West should be settled. With reference to the re-patriation of Canadians who had gone to the United States, he believed the best way to get them back and to keep our own people at home was to amend our tariff. Through the importation of coal free of duty, the owners of the coal areas in Nova Scotia could not keep men in their mines. Instead of settling Manitoba with Menonites, he thought it would be better to send to the hills of Scotland and Ireland, and bring out a hardy people who, in time of need, would help to fight the battles of the country. If the Government would amend the tariff so that our people would be enabled to live with us, instead of going to Washington to beg for a reciprocity treaty, they would meet the views of the country.

M. DESJARDINS: . . . Il est évident que nous aurons plus d'avantages á ramener au pays ceux qui sont habitués à nos lois, à nos institutions, à nos moeurs, et qui sont désireux de venir reprendre leur place au foyer de la patrie, qu' à payer de larges sommes à des étrangers qui ont des habitudes, des lois et des coutumes différentes et même contraires aux notres. Sans vouloir dénier les qualités des Mennonites, je trouve cependant qu' ils ont des prétentions assez singulières pour provoquer un examen de quelques-unes des conditions de leur marché avec le gouvernement. Si un groupe aussi considérable d' émigrants désire l' aide de notre gouvernement, il semble bien juste qu' il supporte toutes les charges que subissent ceux qui n' obtiennent pas de tels privilèges ou des privilèges équivalents. Est-ce que quand on veut devenir citoyen de notre pays, on ne doive pas être prêt à le défendre s' il est attaqué? Je ne comprends pas que le gouvernement encourage d' un coté l' organisation militaire et d' un autre coté l'immigration de gens dispensés du service militaire, excepté qu' on veuille faire monter la garde autour des établissements Mennonites et les protéger dans les cas de danger. Je crois que l' encouragement accordé par le gouvernement est un peu hazardé et qu' il ne convient guère de nous demander de l' argent pour ces gens, et, de plus, de les défendre au besoin. En résumé, j' espère que la position prise par le député de Chateauguay et qui je n' ai aucun doute, sera appuyée par la Chambre, engagera le gouvernement á seconder le mouvement de repatriement de nos compatriotes émigrés aux Etats-Unis. . . . . En terminant je soumets de nouveau à cette honorable Chambre l' á-propos d' adopter la motion du député de Chateaugay, qui levra décider le gouvernement encourager nos compatriotes des Etats-Unis à revenir prendre leur place sur un sol qu' ils ont été les premiers á défricher.

MR. FARROW said there was an old saying that one volunteer was as good as a half dozen pressed men, and the same principle was true in immigration. He believed that one man coming voluntarily to our shores from any country, was worth three times half a dozen paid immigrants. Not that he (MR. FARROW) declaimed against this amount in the estimates, but he liked the amendment to the amendment much better than the amendment itself. Our forefathers had to encounter numerous difficulties in crossing the Atlantic and settling in Canada. Now the difficulties were so few that it was easier to travel from Southern Russia to this country than it was for the early settlers in Canada to come from England and Ireland. The amendment did not go far enough. He would be willing to support a scheme that would re-patriate Canadians now living in the United States, and to keep them here when they return. We have an overplus farming

population in Ontario. Many farmers could not procure land for their sons, who crowded into the towns. There were too many of them there, and they were starving. These men should be encouraged to settle in Manitoba, and why should not the amendment provide for this as well as for bringing back the recreant ones from the United States. Let us say we would pay their passage to the Red River country, and give them an opportunity to settle there. . . .

. . . . .

The hon. member for West Middlesex had spoken about the United States policy of immigration as being a most liberal one, and that thousands were drawn to that country thereby. How did they get these people? By building railroads throughout the country, and railroads from the Atlantic to the Pacific, opening up their territories and settling them. That was what the late Government proposed to do, and in anticipation of the opening up of the North-West by the Pacific Railroad 50,000 emigrants settled in the country in 1873. If the present Government had closely followed up the policy of their predecessors, instead of the 39,000 who came to the country last year, we would have had double that number. The sooner our country is opened up by a railroad the better for the Dominion, and we shall see a great influx of population from Europe to our great North-West. The falling off in the emigration to the United States last year was due to the depression which prevailed in that country. He was not against this item, but he wanted to know when it was going to be paid, to whom it was to be paid, and when it was to be re-paid. If these Menonites possessed such high moral characters, they should be imported as patterns, and $100,000 was a small appropriation for the purpose.

M. Pouliot: Je suis content que les messieurs de l' autre coté soient satisfaits et je suis de l' avis qui domine maintenant des deux cotés de la Chambre, que l' immigration soit encouragée au Manitoba et qu' un aide supplémentaire devrait être voté dans ce sens. J' ai entendu dire que la difficulté consistait dans l' incertitude que les Canadiens resteraient au Canada ou la crainte qu' ils retourneraient aux Etats-Unis. Je n' ai aucune objection, M. l' Orateur à ce qu' on prenne toute précaution à ce sujet; mais en même temps je prétends que ces précautions doivent être prises avec toute autre émigration. Car il arrive, M. l' Orateur, que l' émigration européenne, qui nous coute si cher,, passe à nos portes sans s' arrêter et ne fait le profit que des compagnies qui la transportent. La discussion de ce soir a eu l' effet de renforcer la position du gouvernment á ce sujet et de l' éclairer sur les désirs du peuple et de la Chambre, relativement à un autre point, qui est celui-ci: M. L' Orateur, cette Chambre et le pays sont évidemment en faveur d' une diminution des dépense de la milice, et la réduction qu' ils demandent ils sont désireux de la voir appliquer à encourager l' immigration et la colonisation, et je n' ai aucun doute que le gouvernement viendra l' année prochaine proposer une réduction à cette Chambre des dépenses de la milice et une augmentation des subventions pour l' immigration et la colonisation. Le gouvernement a exigé une garantie pour les $100,000 qu' il a avancées, mais je crois bien qu' il ne la demandera pas, comme cela arrive généralement dans ces cas, et je ne demande pas que le gouvernement réclame jamais cette somme. Mais ce que je désire c' est qu' on ne l' applique pas à nourrir des cadets, à faire l' exercice dans les camps, mais à encourager l' immigration et la colonisation. Je crois que le gouvernement en encourageant l' émigration des Mennonites, a montré qu' ilétait un gouvernement pacifique, car on sait que cette population est tout-á-fait opposé à la guerre et se refuse au service militaire. Nous pouvons sans danger devenir Mennonite pour le quart-d' heure, et si le cas se

présente, les Canadiens sauront faire leur devoir, comme en 1775 et en 1812. Je me résume, M. l' Orateur: 1. Je désire qu' on encourage l' immigration canadiene au moins au même dégré que l' emigration Mennonite. 2. Je désire qu' on exige des garanties pour la résidence permanente des Canadiens qui en autant qu' on les exige des autres émigrations; 3. Enfin, je suis d' avis que l' on diminue les dépenses militaires et qu' on augmente d' autant la subvention pour les fins d' immigration et de colonisation.

Mr. Kerr feared we were in danger of under-estimating rather than of over-estimating the importance to this country of the great question of immigration. We have a magnificent country, but its magnificence can be greatly improved. It is not our broad lands nor our broad expanse of waters, nor our noble rivers simply that make a great country. These broad lands must be filled up with an industrious and a moral people. The present Government were entitled to the special support and thanks of the people of this country for the wise and liberal policy which they were about to inaugurate in the matter of immigration, and the House should not hesitate for a moment in cheerfully making this appropriation. No given sum of money could be better expended than for the purpose of bringing from the Old World a thrifty and hardy people to develop the resources of our country. He was glad that the Menonite experiment had thus far proved a success. He was glad to find that in their thrift and morality they resembled the Society of Friends, who were as thrifty a people as ever inhabited any country, and though they might be referred to occasionally in terms not quite as complimentary as they should be, he did not think it was any discredit to them to love peace rather than war. Though he would not go as far as the hon. member for South Ontario went the other day, he sympathized to a large extent with the wholesome sentiments that gentleman saw fit on that occasion to express. He did not believe it was necessary to expend an unmeasured sum annually in this country in keeping up a military establishment. He did not stop to enquire when this appropriation was to be paid or when it was to be re-paid. This House was not running any great risk in advancing $100,000 when they knew that there was undoubted security for its re-payment. . . .

Hon. Mr. Cartwright, in reply to Mr. Flesher, explained that the Government proposed to take security from certain wealthy farmers for the re-payment of this sum advanced to the Menonites, so that, although it appeared in the estimates as an annual charge, the expenditure would be nothing more than the interest on this amount for three or four years. If we could get 35,000 souls for that, it would be an extremely profitable investment. These Menonite families would settle in Manitoba, and he did not think there was the slightest risk, after coming such a great distance with their families, that they would encounter the risk and expense of a second removal to a distant part of the United States, unless for a good cause indeed. It must be left to their own discretion to remain in the country or not, but from all the Government knew of these Menonites, and the peculiar circumstances under which they came to this country, the risk of losing them was very slight indeed.

Hon. Mr. Pope . . . would support the amendment of the hon. member for Chateauguay, for the same reason that he supported this proposal to advance a loan to the Menonites. It was important to bring the Menonites into our country, but it was no less important to bring back Canadians from the United States. The Government had no right to say at this time that the township system in the North-West had proved a failure. The Rolstan reservation was 150 miles west of Manitoba, and would form a nucleus for further settlement. The Finance Minister had stated that im-

migration showed a decrease last year in this country as in the United States, and for the same reason. He thought that was a mistake. Canada had shown no decline in prosperity, and there should have been an increased immigration in consequence of the troubles among the agricultural population of the Mother Country. There were other reasons, and, as far as he could learn, one of the principal was that the powerful agency of the steamship people, numbering some twelve hundred persons, had not been employed as it should have been. These agents were scattered throughout Europe, and by offering a small commission to them they could be employed to send emigrants to our shores.

Mr. Patterson said this item involved a new departure in the legislation of this country—the principle of protection. He looked upon this as a matter of business, and he believed the management of the affairs of a nation should be conducted on business principles. The Government should extend no special privileges to any religious sect or creed, and he did not believe they intended to do anything of the kind; they merely treated with these people as a colony. Now, were they adopting a correct principle. Was it right to recognize that protection shall be extended to this colony in order to settle our country. He was happy to see that the Government believed that special advantages might be given to the people of this country in order to increase its prosperity and develop its resources. The country was paying a bonus of $25 per head for those they were bringing into the land, or rather were contributing the interest on that amount for three years. He believed the adoption of this principle would pay, and he heartily sustained the Government policy. He found no difficulty in supporting the amendment of the hon. member for Chateouguay. The same privileges should be extended to Canadians that were granted to the Menonites. For some years, at least, the country would be bound by this principle, and Parliament would have to appropriate money on the same terms to all comers. He would support the item with pleasure, and he congratulated the Government on having at last adopted the principle of protection, thus offering larger inducements than any other nation, to those who wished to settle in the country.

Mr. Sinclair observed that no immigration agent had been appointed for Prince Edward Island. In his judgment the grant was by no means too large; indeed it was not large enough. It was not merely that the Government had assurance that the money would be re-paid—and even if it was not paid the country would receive value for it—but if one hundred thousand immigrants were settled in the North-West it would obviate the necessity of keeping up at great expense the Mounted Police. It was a pity that either the amendment or the amendment to the amendment should have been moved, because it was perfectly unnecssary to say that they would all be glad to see our fellow-countrymen who were in the United States, whether they were French or English Canadians, come back to this country.

The amendment to the amendment was then put and declared carried.

B. *Journal of the Senate of the Dominion of Canada,* 1875, pp. 268, 285, 286.

[Bill brought up April 5, 1875 by House of Commons message re Supply Bill, read first time on April 5 and second and third time on April 7, whereupon the bill was passed April 7, 1875. Clerk was ordered to acquaint House of Commons that Senate had passed bill without amendment. Assent given April 8, 1875.—E. C.]

*The Statute*

38 Victoria Chapter 3 (1875)

An Act for granting to Her Majesty certain sums of money required for defraying certain expenses of the Public Service, for the financial years ending respecting the 30th June, 1875, and the 30th June, 1876, and for other purposes relating to the Public Service.

[Assented to 8th April, 1875.]

. . . . . .

Supplies

. . . . . .

Schedule B

. . . . . .

| Service | Amount | Total |
|---|---|---|
| | | Immigration and Quarantine |
| . . . . . | | |
| Mennonite Loan | $100,000 | |
| Transport of Mennonites | $ 70,000 | |

## *Form of Guarantee Bond re Mennonite Loan.*

[The Canadian Government Loan of $100,000 was to be guaranteed by Mennonite bondsmen of the old established Mennonite communities in Ontario (Waterloo County, Markham in York County, and "The Twenty" in Lincoln County). This guarantee was given in the form of signatures to bonds prepared by the Ottawa government. A number of the signed bonds have been preserved. The form of the bonds was apparently printed as early as February, 1875, when the matter was being favorably debated in parliament, in advance of the passage of the authorizing statute on April 8, 1875 (printed above).—E. C.]

**Source:**

J. F. Funk Collection, Goshen College.

KNOW ALL MEN by these Presents; That we

Blank LINES ..... ..... ..... .... ..... .....

are well and truly bound unto Her Majesty the Queen, her Successors and Assigns, in the sum set opposite our names respectively, as follows: That is

Blank LINES ..... ..... ..... .... ..... .....

to be paid to Her Majesty, Her Successors or Assigns, for which several payments well and truly to be made, we severally bind ourselves, and each of us for himself, our and each of our heirs, executors, and administrators, firmly by these presents.

Sealed with our Seals and dated this day of

one thousand eight hundred and seventy-five

WHEREAS the above bounden parties, together with others, are interested in promoting the immigration of families of Mennonites from Europe to Canada;

AND WHEREAS, Her Majesty, through the Government of Canada, has assented to lend and advance unto them or to some of them acting in that behalf, a sum not exceeding **one hundred thousand dollars** of lawful money of Canada, for the purpose of enabling them to assist such Mennonite families in such immigration and in settling in the Townships of Manitoba, in Canada, and it has been agreed that such sum shall be advanced by the Receiver General of Canada, by instalments, from time to time, as the same may be requested by the Committee of Management of Mennonites in Ontario, in respect thereof, to be composed of responsible persons appertaining to the Mennonites of Ontario;

AND WHEREAS it has been agreed that the said loan shall be granted for the term of ten years, bearing interest for the first four years from the date hereof, at the rate of six per cent. per annum, and that for the first four years of such term no part of the said sum of one hundred thousand dollars shall be payable or demanded; nor shall any interest be payable or demanded thereon during the said term of four years, the said sum of one hundred thousand dollars or such part or lesser amount thereof as shall have been advanced, with the interest then accrued thereon, shall be capitalized and the amount then due for principal and interest so capitalized and bearing interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum shall be repaid to Her Majesty, Her Successors and Assigns, by yearly payments. The said payments to be continuous in each and every following year, to commence at the expiration of one year from the end of said term of four years aforesaid, which shall form a sinking fund to extinguish such capitalized sum of principal and interest together with the interest thereon, in the space of six years from the termination of the first term of four years aforesaid, the amount of each yearly payment so to be made to be calculated by the Receiver General of Canada.

The condition of this obligation is such: That if the said sum of $100,000, or such lesser amount as may be advanced as hereinbefore mentioned, together with such amount of interest thereon as may be capitalized as aforesaid, together with the interest on such capitalized sum as hereinbefore mentioned, shall be well and truly paid unto Her Majesty the Queen, by the hands of the Receiver General of Canada, by such yearly payments, and at such times and in such manner as hereinbefore mentioned;

Then the above obligation to be void; otherwise to remain in full force and virtue.

Sealed and Delivered by the
above bounden,
In the presence of

* * *

Acts of the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada passed in the Third Session of the Sixth Parliament, begun and holden at Ottawa, on the 31st day of January and closed by Prorogation on the 2nd day of May, 1889, . . . Vol. I, *Public General Acts,* Chapter 28, Ottawa, 1889.

*Preamble.* (*Assented to 2nd May,* 1889.)

WHEREAS in the year one thousand eight hundred and seventy-five a loan of one hundred thousand dollars was authorized by Parliament to be made to aid members of the Mennonite community in settling in the Province of Manitoba, such loan to be secured by bonds entered into by responsible members of the said community resident in the Province of Manitoba, such loan to be secured by bonds entered into by responsible members of the said community resident in the Province of Ontario; and whereas an aggregate amount of ninety-six thousand four hundred dollars was advanced accordingly at varying dates and in varying amounts on the security aforesaid, such advances to bear interest at six per cent, and to be funded four years after date, and repayments afterwards to be made annually in sums calculated at the rate of six per cent. compound interest, to extinguish the debt in six annual instalments; and whereas in consequence of serious reverses encountered by the Mennonites who were placed on lands in the Province of Manitoba by means of the advances aforesaid, forbearance on the part of the Government was prayed for, and was granted; and whereas subsequently repayments to the extent of one hundred and seventeen thousand four hundred and twenty-seven dollars and thirty-one cents, were made on account of the said loan and

interest up to the eighteenth day of May, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight; and it appearing that the members of the said community who became security for the said loan were unable, in consequence of the reverses aforesaid, and other drawbacks to the prosperity of certain Mennonite settlers, to make further collections from the latter, and that therefore payment in full, if enforced, would have to be made by the members of the said community in the Province of Ontario, who became security for the payment of the loan and interest; and whereas, in view of the facts, and also in consideration of the said Mennonites of Ontario having managed at their own charge a complicated and important colonization, it appeared to be just that they should be granted some relief in the premises, by a reduction of the rate of interest on the said loan; and whereas the Governor in Council has accepted the sum of twelve thousand nine hundred and fifty-nine dollars and twenty-two cents as payment in full, and it is expedient to confirm such acceptance: Therefore Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:—

*Agreement and discharge confirmed.*

1. The acceptance by the Governor in Council of the sum lastly mentioned in full payment and discharge of the advances mentioned in the preamble and made to the Mennonite community and members thereof, and of all interest thereon, is hereby confirmed.

*Original deposited in the Mennonite Historical Library, Goshen College.*

# BOOK REVIEWS

*Anna Elizabeth: A Dunker Maid of 1748,* By Lucile Long. Elgin, Illinois: Brethren Publishing House. 1942. Illustrated. Pp. 125.

*Anna Elizabeth, Seventeen.* By Lucile Long. Elgin, Illinois: Brethren Publishing House. 1946. Illustrated, Pp. 208.

Genuine "Pennsylvania Dutch" atmosphere, redolent with the simple domestic joys and the solid Christian virtues of pioneer Dunker families, breathes through the pages of these two little volumes, worthy of a high place among local color fiction. The writer has been willing to add to her generous and intimate knowledge the toil and fatigue of earnest research. The alembic of her warm sympathy and her knowledge of the writer's craft have fused these materials into stories certain to please several groups of readers. They are not to be confused with "juvenile literature." They will be enjoyed by young and old, but they are written for the mature in spirit.

Brethren readers, old and young, will be charmed and delighted by these pictures of their ancestors in early Pennsylvania. Members of the other historic peace churches will feel the heart-throb of a kindred spirit. The general reader cannot fail to be interested in the intellectual and emotional experiences of this happy little girl with a "chin, which, despite the soft contour of childhood, spoke unmistakably of determination," a chin which "looked resolute enough to prove that the pacifist doctrine, even though accepted from babyhood, did not necessarily lead to softness of character."

The first story, covering parts of 1747 and 1748, closes with the thirteenth birthday of Anna Elizabeth, "a Dunker maid," whose home was in the Oley region north and west of Philadelphia. In the second book she is seventeen (1752), old enough to begin thinking about a husband.

The author of the two narratives is Miss Lucile Long, a teacher of literature in three Brethren colleges and at present professor of English literature at La Verne College, a Brethren institution in California. In the Anna Elizabeth books she shows herself a skillful writer able to combine the results of meticulous research with her own personal knowledge and sympathetic interpretation of the life and spirit of her people.

The charm of the first book lies not so much in the plot, for the plot is slight, nor even in the character portrayal, although the characters of Anna Elizabeth, her father and her mother are drawn with sufficient sharpness to individualize them, but it lies in the vignettes of Dunker family and community life. Fireside chats, social visits, discussions of religious beliefs, social customs, and local superstitions by children as well as by grown-ups—these impart a distinctive flavor to the book by revealing modes of thought and feeling among the early Dunkers. Their general social practices, also, are outlined with considerable detail.

But the book is not devoid of incident, of story interest. There is the meeting with the poor old woman whom some of the children fear as a witch, a Sister's fear that Anna Elizabeth's love of reading will render her unfit for marriage, the "talk" at meeting about ways and means to provide a poor family with a cow, Anna Elizabeth's experiences with a "bewitched" heifer, the disturbance in a church service by a member of the "New-Born" sect, the passing of Abraham Duboy, echoes from the Ephrata Cloister, and finally the storm, Anna Elizabeth's illness, and her thirteenth birthday with its gifts—a home-made hand-loom from her brother Henry, the *German and English Grammar* from her father, and a copy of Bunyan's

*Pilgrim's Progress* from Michael Frantz, a boy four or five years her senior; and finally the wholly unexpected bequest of Abraham Duboy's Halle Bible.

The three characters which emerge most clearly as individuals are the heroine, Anna Elizabeth Landis; her father, Samuel; and her mother, usually referred to as Sister Landis. The kindly, sympathetic treatment of the tolerant, broad-minded, understanding father, a staunch adherent of the Brethren faith, suggests that Miss Long may have had in mind her own father when she drew this character. His greatest "error" was to break a promise to Anna Elizabeth to buy her a copy of *Pilgrim's Progress*. He chose instead to donate the price of the book to complete payment of a cow for a poor, or rather a shiftless member of the church, whose cow had strayed away. Landis felt bound to make up the amount of a certain member's assessment after that member had failed to contribute his share of the purchase price. The justice of his decision was difficult to explain to Anna Elizabeth's satisfaction.

The mother is singularly free from the pettiness, superstition, and gossip that characterizes some of the neighbors, even members of the church. But with it all she has much shrewd common sense and is outspoken in her views. A certain busybody, fearing that Anna Elizabeth's fondness for reading will endanger her chances for marrying, exclaims, "A man doesn't like a woman to know too much." Anna Elizabeth's mother retorts, "Many a man marries a woman who knows more than he does . . . marries her, and lives with her for ten years, yes twenty even, and never does he find out that she knows more than he does" . . .

But it is on the title role that Miss Long brings to bear all her literary craftsmanship to create a loving and obedient daughter whom her mother defends against the charge that she wastes time in reading: "Spin she can, and bake, and churn, and as good with Samuel [the baby] almost as I am, she is, and minds [looks after] the girls." Anna Elizabeth never tires of reading, of committing to memory Bible verses, of playing school. She ridicules many of the superstitions and fears of her playmates, but is herself afraid of the dark. In spite of her fears, however, on a dark stormy night she goes alone down the lane and across the creek in search of a cow that had broken out of the barn lot. Sometimes she rebels openly at the strictness and rigidity of Brethren customs of life and modes of dress. She discovers certain psychological phenomena, especially with regard to memory, fancy, and imagination. She knows and can quote Scripture. She forms beautiful, unselfish friendships. In spite of specific acts of selfishness, she is in the main, generous, devoted and self-sacrificing. And, although the writer seems at a few points to be trying to force a literary parallel with heroines of the type of Maggie Tulliver, Anna Elizabeth is a well-individualized fictional character.

The devices by which Miss Long seeks to convey the impression of Pennsylvania German speech fall somewhat short of creating that illusion. One does not detect in the speech rhythms or even in the inversions the genuine flavor of either the German or the Pennsylvania German idiom. Particularly unfortunate is her frequent use of "then" where one would expect some equivalent of *doch* or *noch*.

Whatever minor literary faults one might point out in the first book, *Anna Elizabeth, A Dunker Maid of 1748,* these vanish in the second, *Anna Elizabeth, Seventeen.* Here the writer has a story to tell and tells it superbly. The work is less labored; there is no longer a palpable effort to make the spiritual and intellectual problems of the heroine seem significant. The picture of pioneer Pennsylvania life fills a larger canvas. Against the

broader background of the social, political and religious life of the seventy-year-old Quaker colony, the writer presents a moving drama of a fine strong human spirit achieving adulthood, fortifying her convictions against each new encroachment upon her spiritual citadel—"Brethren are we"—blossoming almost with surprise into the knowledge that she has fallen in love, and then again bearing with fortitude the kind of disappointment that cuts deepest into a young heart.

The time of the story is 1752 and covers only a few months beginning at a date following April 17 and looking forward at the close to the last Sunday in October, a very important Sunday for Anna Elizabeth. Early in the story the family decides to grant the earnest request of an aunt, Mrs. Dan Hartman, living in Conestoga, to let her have Anna Elizabeth for two months to help her with her new-born twins and with general housework. As she leaves home Michael Frantz, a young man several years her senior, gives her an English copy of *Pilgrim's Progress* in which later she finds a pressed rose. The long journey by coach from Oley to Germantown, then from Germantown to Conestoga, is an exciting experience. The Hartmans, hardworking, but pinched for cash, consent to let Anna Elizabeth work a few days now and then for the Johnsons, a well-to-do "English" family eager to pay the Hartmans for Anna Elizabeth's services. Here she enters a new world of silver plate, Parisian gowns, indentured servants, and stylishly dressed visitors from Philadelphia. She learns so rapidly and conducts herself so well that one day Mrs. Johnson playfully dresses her in now one lacy gown then another. But when she urges that Anna Elizabeth wear one of the lacy golden creations when she serves the company at table, the Dunker maid, with only one last glance at the beautiful shimmering material, quietly states that she is willing to serve Mrs. Johnson's company, but that she will wear only her plain cap and dress. And so she does. During the summer she often finds her thoughts turning to Michael. One day as she wishes he were near so that she might speak with him, she slowly realizes that she must be in love with him. Somewhat later a teamster driving through to the Susquehanna casually drops the news that Michael Frantz and Apollonia Lehman were married. The story of the way in which Anna Elizabeth faces this disappointment is one of the best portions of the book. When she returns to Oley at the end of summer, she learns that Fate has not been so unkind as Rumor. No brief recital of the narrative can convey an adequate impression of its beautiful simplicity or its imaginative power.

In *Anna Elizabeth, Seventeen* there is a theme, a purpose, but the theme no longer obtrudes itself upon the reader. He is wholly absorbed in the story. Only at the end does he realize that the theme, "Peace," has been kept before his consciousness throughout the book. In the first chapter Brother Landis quotes the verse beginning "Peace I leave with you." In the last chapter it is he who states the theme more fully in his own simple, straightforward manner:

> But I know that peace for all people must come very slowly, out of little groups living here and there and demonstrating quietly that such a way of life is possible. Peace is something that can be lived and caught and taught, but never compelled . . . I wonder if some people do not rush into peacemaking before they have peace themselves. One does not make peace by compelling another man to do something, or find peace by obeying another's commands . . . Peacemakers work silently like the sun and the rain. They wait with infinite patience for people to grow, and work with infinite patience to make a world in which people can grow. . . .

Here at the end of the book we hold the key to its charm. The writer lived her book before she wrote it!—lived to learn the way of peace and love

and the unutterable joy of Christian friendship. Hence comes the apparent effortlessness of the true artist. One closes the book with a strengthened conviction that life's greatest blessings are so casual, so simple, that, as the air and the sunshine, they may fail to be enjoyed because they are taken for granted or entirely overlooked.

It is to be hoped that Miss Long will find the time, the energy, and the will, now that she has found the method and perfected the skills, to give her readers more books of this or a simliar series. Will not some Mennonite writer set himself to the task of interpreting the genius of his people in a like effort. The Mennonite Church has first class historians, sociologists, theologians, who are interpreting and reevaluating her activities, her culture, her creed, but so far no Mennonite has produced a first rank creative, imaginative work showing Mennonites living, breathing, thinking, feeling, problem-solving. The raw materials are at hand awaiting the touch of the artist to transmute them into the gold of truth and beauty. Too long these fine materials have been at the mercy of alien construction or miscontruction. Let someone take up the task who understands these materials because they have flowed into his heart from home and community and church and have become the life-blood of his spirit. Let such an one enrich his mind by study and research and then cultivate a sympathetic creative imagination; finally let him train his hand and steel his will to the task of presenting in living pictures the Mennonite way of life. The Mennonite *Anna Elizabeth, Seventeen,* is still to be written. And it is long over-due.

Goshen College — John Umble

Dr. W. J. Kühler, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Doopsgegezinden in de Zestiende Eeuw,* Haarlem, 1938, 478 pages.

Dr. W. J. Kühler, *Geschiedenis van de Doopsgezinden in Nederland,* Tweede Deel, 1600-1735, eerste Helft, Haarlem, 1940, 217 pages.

Approximately one hundred years ago S. Blaupot ten Cate wrote the first extensive and scholarly local history of the Mennonites of the Netherlands by provinces in five volumes. Since that time very active research on Anabaptism has been conducted in Holland. Numerous monographs appeared on M. Hofmann, Menno Simons, the martyrs, principles of Mennonitism, and many other subjects. Men like S. Muller, de Hoop Scheffer, S. Cramer, F. Pijper, Chr. Sepp., K. Vos, and many others have compiled historical data and published valuable contributions on a variety of topics. Especially the *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen* and the *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica* proved to be a gold mine of information. But none of the historians presented an up-to-date history of Dutch Mennonitism based on the source material that had been collected and preserved in the library of the Mennonite Church of Amsterdam. At last this task has been undertaken by Dr. W. J. Kühler, Professor of the Mennonite Theological Seminary and the University of Amsterdam.

*The Author.* In addition to teaching Church and Mennonite History, Dr. Kühler has, for many years, been the editor of the *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen* and has done much research work in his field. In earlier studies he dealt with the Brethren of the Common Life and Socinianism in the Netherlands.

When his first volume on the Anabaptists of the 16th century appeared, Dr. Kühler did not intend to continue the work. That explains why it was necessary to change the title of volume II. Of this volume, which is to cover

the period from 1600-1735, only the first half has been published (1940) to date. In our review we shall attempt to treat the two publications as a whole.

*The Beginning in Switzerland and in Holland.* The first chapter summarizes briefly the founding of the Anabaptist Church in Switzerland. From the very beginning the writer reveals the thread that he is following throughout his work. What does genuine Anabaptism emphasize: individual piety or the organized church? The answer is that on the left we find the concept that the individual is all and the congregation is nothing and on the right that the congregation is everything and the individual nothing. Between these extremes are many shades of transitions. Among the representatives he mentions, on the left, S. Franck and Hans Denk, and on the right, Blaurock (pp. 4 and 17). The writer leaves us in no doubt as to his own opinion in this matter, declaring that genuine Anabaptism emphasizes individualistic piety. In the second chapter we find an anaylsis of the religious soil in Holland into which the seed of Anabaptism was to fall. It was well prepared by the Brethren of the Common Life, the "Imitatio Christi," the Erasmian Humanism, and the movement of the Sacramentists. Luther receives credit for giving the signal for spiritual emancipation when "the fullness of time" had come for making the Bible the sole authority, and for his heroic example (p. 38). Thus Melchior Hofmann preached and baptized, "reaping without sowing."

*After Münster.* After three chapters on Melchior Hofmann and Münster, there follows one on "Boekholt" summarizing the situation of Anabaptism after the Münster catastrophe. Between the Münster radicals and the mystic David Joris were the moderate Melchiorites. The radicals and the fanatics gradually disappeared and the peace-loving Mennonites prevailed with Menno Simons and Dirk and Obbe Philips as leaders. Menno Simons is referred to as the "regenerator of Dutch Anabaptism" who cleansed the movement "from Germany that had reached Holland in a soiled condition; and thus the foreign became something national which fitted into the original Dutch reform movement" (pp. 162, 163).

In the chapter, "Menno, David, Obbe," these three men and their time are characterized. Most significant among them is Menno Simons, and yet he helped "to make the individual believer dependent on the church, the increasing prestige of which made her, finally, little less than an idol" (213).

*The Martyrs.* This is one of the outstanding chapters of the book. In opposition to the above statement regarding Menno Simons, we find here, according to the author, the spirit of genuine Mennonitism, which centers in individual piety rather than in an institutionalized and dominating church. Through previous studies the writer has shown himself an authority on the martyrs. Combining conviction and scholarship he vividly portrays piety, courage, persecution, and the martyrdom of the early Mennonites in Holland and Belgium. He reports ably concerning the number of martyrs and the trustworthiness of their stories, emphasizing that their piety was influenced by the "Imitatio Christi" and the Brethren of the Common Life.

*The Church Without Spot and Wrinkle.* In chapters nine and ten we have the first detailed description of the development of the Anabaptist concept of the church as it was adhered to by Menno Simons, Dirk Philips, and L. Bouwens. The individualistic piety in the fellowship of the martyrs was undermined by the above mentioned leaders who assumed too much authority and vested too much power in the organized church. According to Kühler, the leaders are also responsible for the practice of strict church discipline as it found expression in the ban and avoidance. These chapters are

the prologue to the description of the tragedy in which we find Dutch Mennonitism divided and subdivided more numerously than in any other country.

The author deals in successive chapters with the four main groups. The Waterlanders, formerly a geographic term, were according to Kühler, the paladins of genuine, scriptural Mennonitism who pioneered for what is now known as "Doopsgezind," while the Frisians and Flemish adhered to the strict and conservative Mennonite tradition. The names of these two groups also had a geographic connotation which they gradually lost. No one who wishes insight into the many divisions that occurred during the sixteenth and seventeenth century in Holland can afford to miss out on these chapters written in great detail. The chapter on the mystics deals with David Joris and his followers, who was mentioned in chapter twelve.

*Socinianism and Mennonitism.* After devoting a chapter of volume II to the general characterization of the Mennonites during the seventeenth century Kühler proceeds to discuss their relationship to Socinianism. This discussion is continued in chapter eight. There is no doubt about the author's authority in this field since he has made a special study of Socinianism in Holland. It is surprising, however, that when he weighs the merits and demerits of both groups his sympathy seems to lie with the Socinians, even though the Waterlanders, whom he treated with greater deference, rejected Socinianism. Since Socinianism was transplanted from Poland to Holland, it would be interesting to know whether the Mennonites of Danzig and surrounding territory who were in lively contact with the Mennonites of Holland, played a role in this matter.

*New Divisions and Attempts to Unite.* Chapter three on the Waterlanders describes the attitude of this more liberal faction of Dutch Mennonitism during the seventeenth century toward questions of dispute like the incarnation of Christ, ban, avoidance, government, nonresistance, marriage outside of the church, etc. Again it is emphasized that the Waterlanders were influenced by Catholic mysticism. More and more the principle of nonconformity was breaking down, evidenced by the fact that the church members were beginning to share in art, literature, science, medicine, etc., of their age.

Chapter five tells the story of the publication of the *Martyrs Mirror* before Van Braght and is, at the same time, the story of the rivalry between the Waterlanders and the Frisians. Some of the leaders mentioned are Hans de Ries, Alenson, and P. J. Twisck. In chapter seven, dealing with "Two-fold Word of God," we find a controversy on this matter that involved the elders Nittert Obbes, Hans de Ries, and the deacon and writer Vondel. Obbes' views, influenced by Socinianism, were condemned.

In the closing chapters we find the Flemish extending an "Olive Branch" to the other factions, and the Waterlanders inviting the other groups to unite on a Scriptural basis. The role that the Mennonites played in the Dutch culture of the seventeenth century and the new division between the "Lamists" and "Zonists" are to be treated in the second half of volume II. We can only wish and hope that Dr. Kühler, at his ripe age, will be able to complete this significant task.

*An Appraisal.* Kühler's history of early Dutch Mennonitism represents a life's work of a scholar and will be welcome to all students of Mennonite or Anabaptist history. It will be a "must" book not only in bibliographies but to be studied seriously.

Anabaptism had some common underlying principles according to which it developed. It is true, national characteristics and environmental influences played significant roles in its development in the various countries,

nevertheless parallels are noticeable everywhere. Mennonitism of Holland underwent changes a hundred to two hundred years ago which American Mennonitism confronts today. Thus the historian finds, in the history of the Dutch Mennonities, the markers and signposts which he sees today on the crossroads of American Mennonitism.

Kühler carefully avoided the weakness of Blaupot ten Cate's history of the Mennonites which was written by provinces, making repetitions inevitable. He does not get lost in details or minor local affairs, and does not lose sight of the larger perspectives. But viewing our complex world as "one world" it is, however, surprising that the writer can present the history of Anabaptism in one country with so little reference to Anabaptism in other countries. It is to be expected that Dr. Kühler's emphasis on the independence of the Dutch reformatory movement and Dutch Anabaptism will be challenged.

We have stated that there is a thread throughout the books dealing with a tension between individual piety and collective (church) piety. It is true that sixteenth century Anabaptism pioneered in a special way, like the Reformation in general, for a number of modern concepts such as individual piety, separation of church and state, congregational church organization, etc., but they were a result rather than an essence of its concern. The Waterlanders, Frisians, Flemish, or the liberal and conservative Mennonites, did not differ in principle but in degree. The *essence of Anabaptism* was its *peculiar concept of the Christian church* which set it apart from Catholicism, Lutheranism and the other movements. If this had been chosen as a thread and the schisms explained as being caused by the degree to which this peculiar concept of the church was put into practice, the author would have come nearer to the historical truth, and the picture presented would have been just as dramatic or tragic.

Bethel College — Cornelius Krahn

N.B. For an extensive critical discussion of Dr. Kühler's first book see John Horsch, "Is Dr. Kühler's Conception of Early Dutch Anabaptism Historically Sound?" in MQR VII, 48-60 and 97-126 (January and April 1933).

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